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Report[s] 1915-1917

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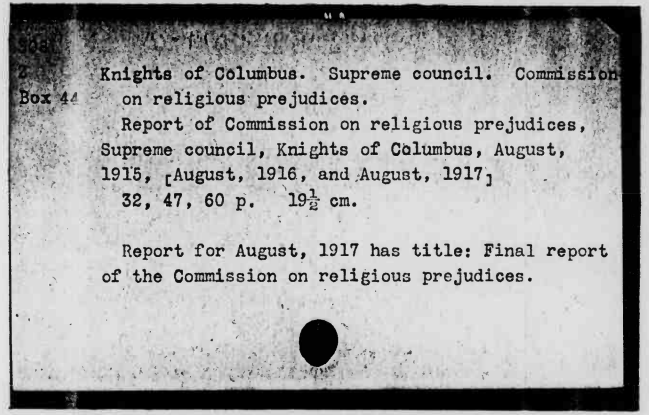
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Commission on Religious Prejudices

1915-16-17

REPORT
OF
COMMISSION
ON
RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES

SUPREME COUNCIL
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
AUGUST, 1915

11-20-18
Gift. Journalism

To the Officers and Members of the Supreme Council, Knights of Columbus, in Annual Convention Assembled, Seattle, Washington, August, 1915:

At the annual convention of the Supreme Council held in St. Paul, Minnesota, August, 1914, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Board of Directors is authorized to expend a sum not exceeding Fifty Thousand Dollars, to study the causes, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for the religious prejudice that has been manifest through press and rostrum in a malicious and scurrilous campaign that is hostile to the spirit of American freedom and liberty and contrary to God's Law of 'Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself,' and the Supreme Knight is authorized to appoint a Commission to be known as the Commission on Religious Prejudices, consisting of five members of the Order, to conduct such investigation under the direction of the Board of Directors and to ascertain exactly who are the persons behind these movements and who are financing them and what the authorities at Washington can and will do toward eliminating this most disturbing menace to the peace and prosperity of our land."

In pursuance of this resolution, the Supreme Knight appointed the following members of the Commission:

Col. P. H. Callahan, Louisville, Ky., Chairman.
Hon. Jos. C. Pelletier, Boston, Mass.
Hon. Jos. Scott, Los Angeles, Cal.
Hon. Thos. A. Lawler, Lansing, Mich.
Mr. A. G. Bagley, Vancouver, B. C.

These Commissioners have diligently inquired into the matters appointed and now respectfully submit to your consideration an account of their labors, with such recommendations as seem to them not inappropriate.

I.

ORGANIZATION.

Although appointed during October, 1914, the members of the Commission did not meet in formal session until January, 1915. They keenly appreciated the importance of the task before them and also the many difficulties that lay in the way of its successful accomplishment. An undertaking of this kind was never before projected and no rule or prece-

dent stood out to guide them in their work on their deliberations.

Brother Callahan communicated with the other Commissioners, and all set about learning the conditions pertinent that prevailed over the country. By tacit agreement, headquarters were established in the Chairman's office at Louisville, Kentucky, and a working force was organized to get in touch with the entire membership of the Order. General letters were sent out to State and District Deputies (and later to Masters of the Fourth Degree, Faithful Navigators, Grand Knights and others prominent and active in the Order, in all about three thousand) announcing the purposes in hand and outlining the policy to be pursued toward effecting them.

The responses to these communications were very gratifying, being general, prompt and instructive, and showing an active interest in the work of the Commission. Through them it was learned that an anti-Catholic feeling, more or less excited, existed in every section of the country and practically in every community. This feeling was most conspicuous in political circles, but was also evident in business, social and commercial lines. It was being largely incited by a number of papers printed in various sections of the country for this purpose and which regularly published most outrageous calumnies against priests and nuns, and Catholics generally. Aiding these papers were several lecturers (some claiming to be ex-priests and ex-nuns), who were going about the country to stir up excitement by their lurid, scandalous attacks on the confessional and convents.

Other agencies were discovered to be, either consciously or unconsciously, contributors to the general anti-Catholic propaganda. Chief among them were non-Catholic denominational and fraternal papers, some of which occasionally indulge the practice of deviating from their constituted purpose of furthering the interests of their patrons in order to publish the scandalous inventions of anti-Catholic propagandists.

A few non-Catholic ministers also were found occasionally to depart from their proper duties in order to malign and vilify things Catholic. In justice to our separated brethren, however, it should be said that instances of this character

were not the common rule and while doubly reprehensible, were not, and are not, representative of the great body of non-Catholics in this country.

It should be said, too, in this connection, that evidence may not be lacking to show that some Catholics have also contributed to aggravate this anti-Catholic campaign by indulging in statements that reveal a lack of prudence and charity.

II.

MEETINGS.

There have been four meetings of the Commission, (1) at New York, January 9th and 10th, (2) at Chicago, March 6th and 7th, (3) at Chicago, June 13th and 14th, and (4) at Seattle, July 31st, the last being principally for the purpose of considering this report on the Commission's work.

(1)

The principal matters considered at the New York meeting were the open letters of Mr. Paul Bakewell, of St. Louis, to the Postmaster General with regard to excluding "The Menace" from the mails, the propriety of Special Supreme Agents, Brothers Morarity and Sherlock, devoting their time largely to investigating anti-Catholic newspapers, the availablity of "Our Sunday Visitor" for purposes of general distribution. The advisability of trying to procure certain amendments to Section 211 of the Penal Code was considered. Part of this meeting was devoted to interviews with newspaper correspondents in which a general discussion of the work of the Commission was had. At the close of the session the following statement was given to the press by Brother Callahan, Chairman:

"This Commission has an appropriation of $50,000 and is charged with the duty of investigating the reasons and sources of the bigoted movement against Catholics, as evidenced by the issue of indecent and slanderous publications and the organization of societies, pledged to drive Catholics out of public life.

"This meeting will be followed by other meetings in the chief cities of the country.

"This Commission will endeavor after discovering the facts and learning the identity of the persons responsible for these movements, to conduct a campaign of education, setting forth through the lecture plat-

form and by publication, the real Catholic position, asking the co-operation of all fair-minded citizens showing that the Catholic, as a Citizen, is the equal of any other.

"Criminal prosecution has already been ordered by the Department of Justice against one of the most notorious and widely circulated of the bigoted publications of the country and others will follow.

"The report of the Postmaster-General published in December, containing a statement of the position of the department regarding the use of the mails by such publications, will be vigorously opposed by this Commission and an answer has been prepared for publication by Paul Bakewell, Esq., of St. Louis, Missouri."

"The Knights of Columbus is the largest body of Catholic men in this country, with a membership of about 350,000.

"Col. P. H. Callahan is ex-President of the National Paint, Oil and Varnish Association and President of the Louisville Varnish Co. Albert G. Bagley is President of the Vancouver, B. C., Board of Trade. Jos. Scott is ex-President of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles and President of the Board of Education of that city. Thomas Lawler is ex-Assistant Attorney-General of the State of Michigan. Joseph C. Pelletier is District Attorney in Boston, Mass."

(2)

At the Chicago meeting in March, a number of persons were invited to attend for the purpose of furnishing information along special lines in which they were qualified to speak. Among them were writers, editors, public speakers, men prominent in civic and fraternal organizations and representatives of the press, Catholic and non-Catholic. Some who were unable to attend, communicated their views by letter and in this way much assistance was received from both clerics and laymen in different parts of the country. The first day of the meeting was spent in conference with the visitors and in general investigation, the second in executive session. The matter of establishing a Catholic daily newspaper, and of appointing lecturers in each State to visit Councils in open session were discussed. At the close of the meeting the following notice was given to the press by Chairman P. H. Callahan:

"The Commission has been investigating the philosophy underlying the waves of religious bigotry with which the country is visited from time to time. We are gratified with the magnificent support being shown by the general press throughout the country, in condemning bigoted publications and their supporters.

"As a result of its investigation the Commission has reached the opinion that these bigoted attacks made upon religion come largely from three classes:

"First—Those who fail to appreciate the constitutional provision regarding freedom of religious worship or to understand the belief of those professing a religion other than their own.

"Second—Those whose purpose is to destroy not only the Catholic religion, but all religion and all duly constituted government.

"Third—Perhaps the worst class comprises those who, despite their expressed motives of high purpose, are actuated solely by sordid mercenary considerations.

"The Commission invites the co-operation of societies and organizations of all religious beliefs to the end that the constitutional provision regarding freedom of worship may be understood and upheld.

"The Commission will request the Postmaster-General to make a public statement regarding his position of the exclusion of non-mailable matter, in view of the decisions of the United States courts apparently overlooked by him in his annual report."

(3)

At the Chicago meeting in June, the Chairman reported the investigation of a rumor to the effect that certain well known business companies were financing the anti-Catholic campaign. The rumor was found to be without warrant and it was agreed to publish the correspondence in the case in the July "Columbiad."

Among the other matters considered at this meeting were the desirability of interesting prominent Catholics who are not yet affiliated with our Order and the expediency of increasing the members of the Commission and of some arrangement for its members or the Supreme officers to make personal visits to various jurisdictions to stimulate a wider interest in the premises. On this occasion the press carried the following statement, given out by Brother Callahan:

"The members of the Commission on Religious Prejudice of the Knights of Columbus and officials of the Order arrived in Chicago tonight for a meeting tomorrow at the Hotel LaSalle to consider report to be made to the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus at its forthcoming session at Seattle, Wash.

"The Commission was organized a year ago at the annual convention of the Order in view of the active propaganda against the Catholic Church and the Knights of Columbus by anti-Catholic lecturers and anti-Catholic publications. The declared purpose of the Commission is to find the cause of religious prejudice and promote religious tolerance among

people of all creeds and of no creed. Prominent members of the Commission state tonight that the investigation of the Commission so far had developed that one of the principal causes of prejudice is the supposed attitude of the Catholic Church toward the public schools. Another cause is the belief that Catholics owe civil allegiance to Papal authority. These subjects will be given prominence in the formal report of the Commission.

"Col. P. H. Callahan, speaking for the Commission, said: 'We have not finished our investigation, but the Commission has authorized me to say as to the attitude of Catholics toward our public schools, Catholics never attempted to control them and furthermore they never will engage in such an attempt. They believe that religious education ought to be given to the child, but rather than interfere with the public schools, they not only pay their own proportion of taxes for the maintenance of public schools, but they also support their own parochial schools in order to give their children religious instruction. That any Catholic prelate or priest has ever attempted to influence any members of the Church for purposes of getting control of the public schools is a silly canard.

" 'Neither do Catholics owe any political allegiance to the Pope. The Church speaks with authority on questions of morals, but not on political questions. It is a well-known fact that Catholic people of this country are divided in their political allegiance and it is equally well-known that Catholic priests do not preach political sermons. The political views of a citizen are his own and every Catholic understands them.' "

At each of the meetings, the Supreme Officers have given encouragement to the Commission by their presence and no little benefit has been derived from their ever ready counsel. The willingness of our Supreme Officers, including the Board of Directors, who are burdened with so many other duties, to render the Commission such assistance as it has, is an example to the entire membership of the Order.

III.

PROPAGANDA.

In addition to circular letters and the personal communications sent out, which would total several thousand, nearly the entire membership have received copies of brochures, pamphlets, printed articles and public statements, issued and distributed by or at the instance of the Commission. The principal matter in this connection was the statement of Chairman Callahan, published in the New York American's Editorial Section for Sunday, January 24, and reprinted the following Sunday in the leading dailies of the West and the Middle West, thus reaching several million people throughout the country.

We are indebted to Congressman James A. Gallivan, of Boston, for his speech including the pamphlet entitled Knights of Columbus v. Criminal Libel, and the Harper's Weekly article by Dr. Washington Gladden on anti-Catholicity and the appreciation of same by Dr. Conde B. Pallen.

We also thank Congressman Wm. Kettner, of California, for his speech in Congress confirming the action of certain members of the Masonic fraternity in California who examined the ceremonial of our Order and published a statement highly complimentary concerning same.

Among other matters published and distributed were the pamphlets, "A Protest and a Plea," prepared by the State Council of Iowa, "A Plea for Peace," issued by the State Council of Kentucky, "Catholic Patriotism and Parochial Schools," redacted from a report of the Omaha Council, "The Church and the Bible," written by a member of the Louisville Council, and numerous articles for local papers, indited by wide awake members of the Order in various States. In addition, each month since January, the "Columbiad" has carried a page of "Sidelights" and also a leading article outlining the object, policy and work of the Commission, as seen at close range from the Chairman's desk. A wider vision is expressed in the article of Commissioner Joseph Scott, published in Harper's Weekly of June 5th as a third in the "Anti-Papal Panic" controversy being conducted between Father Francis Kelly, of the Catholic Extension, and Mr. W. W. Prescott of The Protestant Magazine.

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The extent and character of the Commission's correspondence are such as to call for some detail mention. In addition to the general letters sent out to State and subordinate Councils and of Officers of the Fourth Degree, nearly a thousand personal letters have been written each month to other members of the organization, to Catholics in general and to non-Catholics, answering inquiries, noting newspaper items and editorials, replying to attacks made through press, pulpit and by letters and to various other ends. The

Commission's labors as a whole cannot be better appraised than by considering some of the typical matters thus handled.

Editorials:

An editorial in a leading Baptist paper declaring that "it is the belief of Catholics that we are a nation of adulterers," was called to the Chairman's attention and he wrote the editor as follows: "It is the belief of Catholics that marriages of Protestants are valid regardless of who officiates; indeed, we feel that we have a greater regard for the validity of these marriages than many Protestants, since we consider them binding until death." The writer then briefly set out the law of the Church as to the marriage of Catholics and in conclusion said: "My object in writing you is to bring about a better feeling. People of all religions have need to combat the infidelity of the times and should not combat one another."

Shortly after the same paper editorially asked the question: "Why does President Wilson have a Catholic secretary?" and Brother Callahan promptly wrote him: "A similar question could be asked of me: 'Why does Mr. Callahan have a Baptist secretary?' and the same answer would apply, namely, secretaries and other assistants are selected not on account of their religion, but on their merits, as they should be." The paper has not published objectionable matter since.

A Presbyterian paper published an editorial charging that Catholics are not permitted to read the Bible. Brother Callahan began a line of correspondence with the editor, and later had the pamphlet, "Church and Bible," prepared for general circulation. The editor finally admitted in effect that he had been misinformed. This paper, too, is now free of bigoted articles.

Another sectarian paper, this time a Methodist organ, referred to a notorious lecturer (who had been killed) as an "ex-priest" and called upon all Protestants to "wake up to the determined purpose of the Catholic Church to rule this country without regard to methods." .The Chairman corrected the misstatement as to the lecturer's character and expressed his surprise that the editor could think that the unfortunate man, who, "for sensational purposes was falsely representing himself as an ex-priest, was a representative of Protestantism." The editor did not publish the correction, but neither does he publish anti-Catholic articles any more.

With the Masons:

In one case the editor of a country paper seemed to have a predilection for particularly venomous articles. In answer to a letter from the Chairman he said that he was a Mason and Cardinal O'Connell had attacked the Masons and he intended to "get back." Being asked to make an appointment with the Chairman, he was "too busy," and he finally declined to answer letters. The names of some 500 families in his country were then secured and at intervals each of them was sent some piece of literature thought adapted to the occasion. This seemed to produce the desired effect, for the paper has been clean for months.

That this editor's attitude, though not uncommon, is not typical of the better class of Masons, is shown by another incident where the official Masonic organ of Kentucky was carrying anti-Catholic articles. A personal conference with the editor was by him made an occasion to propound a number of questions which the Chairman declined to answer because of their controversial character and the conference failed to result. The Masonic Board of Directors, being advised of the matter, ordered that all anti-Catholic expression be in the future expunged. A letter from a Michigan Mason to Commissioner Lawler mentions "A Masonic banquet for several hundred where a motion passed, repudiating 'The Menace' and similar publications." The letter adds that "thousands, yes, tens of thousands of Masons are going to give your Commission their moral support in the suppression of this curse. There is too much common ground for Christians of every faith to stand on, too much common work for us all to do, to try to stir up discord and dissension."

Tactics:

The following item appeared in a Masonic Journal in Chicago:

"Everybody knows the Catholic Church organized the Knights of Columbus to fight the Masons. The Masonic fraternity has been a thorn in the flesh of the political Romanists because it stands solidly for a disunion of Church (particularly the Catholic) and the State. Many Catholics, in backsliding from Catholic control and idolatry, found membership in Freemason lodges.—Wm. J. Bryan."

The Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, then Secretary of State, was written about this item, and he repudiated it; his letter was sent to the Masonic editor, who explained that the item was

not published with the thought of conveying the impression that the Hon. Wm. J. Bryan made such a statement: "Mr. Wm. J. Bryan is a Chicago Mason, who contributes to Chicago Masonic publications" an explanation that seemed rather belated.

During the late Chicago election, there was widely circulated a letter signed "The Catholic League," which urged upon Catholics their alleged duty of voting in a particular way. Investigation showed the letter to be a fake, no such organization being discoverable. The circulation of this letter calls to mind a method practiced by the A. P. A.'s during the 90's of the last century: they distributed by the wholesale dodgers and leaflets purporting to be from some Catholic authority and appealing to Catholics to vote for a particular party or candidate. The Commission has repeatedly declared that it is equally reprehensible, unfair and un-American to vote for a candidate because he is a Catholic as to vote against one because he is a Catholic.

Our Friends:

The correspondence with such as are hostile to us, however, has been far less than that had with friendly people. Wherever a favorable news item or editorial appeared, or a friendly sermon or address was made, or resolutions or statements condemning intolerance were published, a personal letter went from the Chairman to the people responsible, expressing the appreciation felt for the spirit manifested in the particular case. It is out of the question here to set out such instances in detail, but such men as Dr. Washington Gladden (Cong.), Bishop Williams (M. E.), Rev. J. Faville (Cong.), Dr. W. M. Walker (Baptist), Rev. Eugene Rodman (Unitarian), Dr. D. M. Milner (Presbyterian), Rev. Geo. A. Carstenson (Episcopalian), and others too numerous to mention, of practically every denomination, have shown a spirit of fairness which might well set an example to all men and which properly could not be suffered to pass unnoticed. Likewise numerous papers, "Hartford Courant," "Louisville Evening Post," "St. Louis Republic," "Dallas News," "New York American," "Chicago Examiner" and many others have freely opened their columns to us and indorsed the object of our work in their editorials and all these which came to hand, not to mention instances of local

country papers which have followed in their lead, were written in appreciative and complimentary terms.

V.

EXCERPTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

(1)

The following excerpts from letters received are typical of hundreds and will convey some idea of the sentiment prevailing among members of the Order on different matters:

From a Brother in Panama:

"While the movement of religious prejudice is not entirely dead on the Isthmus, I feel safe in predicting that it soon will be. While at its height, no greater damage is evident than the return to the fold of seventeen strayed sheep (ranging in absence from religious duties from 5 to 33 years) and the accentuation to the community of the fact that the average Isthmian Catholic is a fairly decent and thoroughly dependable citizen."

Another Brother writes:

"Until very recently, I was like many other Knights of Columbus, I simply paid my dues and had not attended a meeting for some years. The hostile campaign inaugurated by the publications in question has had at least one good effect. It has caused me, and I assume many others to renew our attendance at Council meetings."

From a Brother to a Catholic editor, also a Brother:

"The Commission on Religious Prejudices, of which Mr. Callahan is Chairman, is doing a great work in behalf of Catholicity in trying to disarm prejudice against the Church, her institutions and members, by appealing to the fair-minded and liberal element among our non-Catholic fellow citizens, and in this laudable effort we should all join."

The State Deputy of Kansas writes:

"While we lament the unfair fight that is being made on us, we are prone to overlook the fact that some of our own people frequently do things which justly subjects us to criticism. If we only had the power which Bobbie Burns wished for, 'To sae ousels as ithers sae us,' it would be a distinct advantage. The fact is there are some Catholics in this country who ought to be on the Menace payroll. One of our clergy put it succinctly when he said 'God spare us from the mistakes of the bone-headed Catholic.'"

From a Brother in Pennsylvania:

"If your Commission would start a crusade among our own Catholic people, urging them to free their hearts from religious hatred and intolerance, it would accomplish a world of good."

From a Kentucky Editor:

"Each Camp do what it can to muzzle its own fools. What a Protestant says about the intolerance of Catholics has no effect upon Catholics and what Catholics say about the intolerance of Protestants has no effect upon Protestants, but it stirs up some irritation. What each says about his own is a different matter and ought to make for good will between both camps."

The Opinion of a Brother in Michigan:

"Wherever a libel suit can be filed, file it. Wherever a liar can be exposed, expose him. Make it expensive. But if you want to help 'The Menace,' 'Protestant Magazine,' 'Liberty' and others such, the greatest thing you can do for them is to imperil their distribution through the mails. The fact that the Postmaster-General gives you consideration is a benefit to them. The American people will applaud your exposure and punishment of a liar; they will condemn every act, every organization which fetters the expression of opinion.

"Moreover, suppose you win: There are other means of distribution just as effective—not so cheap, perhaps, but to the 'Menace' more satisfactory. It would rally all the people that can be caught with the magic cry of 'Rome opposes Free Speech.' Protestants generally believe this to be true and would gladly join in a crusade having for its object the defeat of Rome's 'schemes.' Protestant churches from which 'The Menace" is now excluded would deem it their duty to provide a place where it should be sold to their congregations in the name of 'Free Speech,' 'Free expression of Opinion' and even their intelligent members, while secretly ashamed of the contents of the sheet, would buy it in the name of 'Liberty.' "

The State Deputy of New Mexico says:

"I note that the movement to exclude 'The Menace' from the mails is still being pressed and I venture to suggest that it is a serious mistake. If it succeeds as IT SHOULD SUCCEED ON ITS MERITS, it will tend to make the class of people whose good opinion we seek, believe that possibly there is something in the stories of Catholic efforts to control Government action. My own view is that the best way to refute and destroy a paper of 'The Menace' class is to give it the widest circulation and encourage it to be as bad as possible."

A Brother, who is a Federal Judge in Iowa, writes:

"Our duty lies first along the lines of convincing the people that the paper is a tissue of falsehoods and when we have done this, we will have their support in excluding it from the mails."

From a Council in Buffalo:

1. Have all Clubs and societies give instructions and lectures on timely topics. Make these meetings open to the public.
2. Have Catholics affiliate with all civic movements for the betterment of the community.
3. Discourage political activity on the part of priests.
4. Make attitude of Catholic press toward Protestants more considerate, more charitable and more Christian.

5. Condemn tendency to support Catholics for public office solely because they are Catholics.
6. Investigate all reports about discrimination against Protestants and Catholics and learn the facts before action is taken.
7. Verify all rumors with reference to anti-Catholic activity and learn the truth—then try to apply a remedy.
8. Condemn preferred list. "Vote for Catholics" will not solve this problem any more than "Vote for Protestants.'

From LaCrosse Council, Wisconsin:

"We have distributed probably four thousand copies of leaflets gotten out by the Central Bureau of the Central Verein; also, about two thousand copies of 'The Live Issue,' containing a letter from the 'Menace,' referred to in the Philadelphia prosecution, also distributed five hundred copies of a lecture given by Rev. Dr. Faville... We published on our own account, a little paper called 'The Catholic Defense,' about eight thousand copies being distributed in the city and in the neighborhood. There were a large number of other pamphlets and booklets distributed."

A Brother Knight of Omaha says:

"Permit me to suggest that Catholics can do much to overcome prejudice by themselves taking an active part in the Major National Holidays, especially Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day and the Fourth of July. Such action on our part will demonstrate to all that Catholics render true allegiance to American sentiment and institutions."

A Grand Knight from Michigan opens up a new thought—that we put our work before the public in the "Movies:"

"For some time I have been convinced that a way to reach the people with the absolute absurdity of religious prejudice, is to appeal to them through the medium of a play. Sixty years ago, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' stirred the North. 'The Clansman' followed with a like effect. Today a good semi-religious moving picture play ought to do some good if it is properly handled."

A Brother from Toledo writes:

"If the Commission is interested in compelling honest publicity—local and national—in fighting inimical legislation—in putting down slander—in educating Catholics to apply their Catholicism to modern problems—in encouraging the hierarchy to act as a unit and lead Catholic thought—in preventing the counter-movement of bigotry from being corralled by Catholic Politicians—then it has ahead of it a noble work."

(2)

And the following, from letters sent out, very well expresses the view of the Commission on these and other subjects:

"We heartily welcome encouragement from those of other faiths. We would not suppress free speech. We would not disarm any honest criti-

cism of ourselves or of our faith. But with stern purpose, we condemn the unlicensed propaganda which libels a whole people and leaves them without redress in courts of justice."

"It would be folly to enter on this work without clean hands. We must be careful not only to refrain from any act or word that would belie our claim to Christian charity, but also to search our hearts for traces of any feelings or instincts that are not compatible with charity."

"We cannot find fault with the general run of non-Catholic papers for carrying prejudiced articles about us, if our own papers are conducted in the same manner and while this is not generally the case, some instances are sadly to the contrary."

"The fundamental governing our Commission is that 'Tolerance begets tolerance, whereas 'intolerance begets only intolerance.' We have members who seem to think there is no prejudice on our part, but this is not altogether correct. We must cultivate the gift, as the Scot puts it, 'to sae ourscls as ithers sae us.' "

"The Memorial Day exercises by the pupils of the Catholic School in your auditorium was an excellent undertaking and your suggestion that Catholics could do very much to overcome prejudice by taking an active part in all of the prominent national holidays, such as Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day and the Fourth of July, is an excellent one and the Commission will undertake to bring this matter to the attention of all the Councils in the country."

"Referring to the suggestion that each Council have a Good Government Committee, while a great deal of care should be used that work of this kind would not take on a political aspect, nevertheless it is unfortunate that our societies do not identify themselves more prominently in movements which are generally for 'Good Government' and especially when there is so much in our Order as to our high ideals of public servants and citizenship, as well as the patriotism of our members, for we are really losing an opportunity to impress our separated brothers that our hearts are in all this good work."

"It is very gratifying to observe that you received the most wholehearted assistance from a Methodist editor of one of your daily papers. It is in this direction that we expect to accomplish the most good, by conducting such a campaign as will appeal to all liberal and fairminded people, for it is my idea that the extremists, which includes those who read seriously such publications as 'The Menace,' can hardly be reached just at the present time by any reasoning process."

"You are entirely too optimistic when you say 'it is indeed gratifying to know that in a short time this evil will be entirely stamped out,' for it must be borne in mind this hatred and prejudice has not only existed for years, but for centuries, and the Commission feel that this is a very tremendous work and only hope to be able to report a satisfactory beginning by the time we again have the annual meeting of the Supreme Council."

"Your communication strikes me as being written in very good faith, therefore is deserving of our best consideration, but your ideas regarding the doctrines of our Church and especially the attitude of our priests in political matters, are altogether erroneous; however, we can hardly blame you for your conclusions, considering the extensive circulation at the present time of malicious and scurrilous newspapers concerning our religion and our clergy. Would you read and be interested in our side of the case?"

"Religious prejudice is due to our not understanding one another and we are writing you direct with the hope of ascertaining your troubles, for in the words of Washington Gladden, 'We Catholics and Protestants are going to live together in this country and we might as well learn to live together in peace."

"You are hardly aware of the ramifications of this religious prejudice; it even extends to workmen who are discharged and their merit not recognized, merely on account of religion and it was only because matters appeared to be growing worse that our Order felt it absolutely necessary to take some steps in the premises. It is my idea that all the cranks are not in one camp and it seems to me that we can only proceed along the line of 'each camp muzzling its own fools' and be governed by the fundamental that tolerance begets tolerance, while intolerance only begets intolerance and along these lines we expect co-operation from all fair-minded people.' "

"Some people are of the opinion that this prejudice does not amount to very much and only involves people in public life, but having business, as well as Association connections in all parts of the Country, it is my conservative opinion that it is doing much more harm outside of politics, even to the extent of interfering with the advancement and proper recognition of merit by workmen and office employes."

"Then again, children who are now growing, read these malicious newspapers and do not know any better than to believe them, with the result that the next generation will have another one of these waves of bigotry that will be more harmful and more disastrous in its results than at present, unless we make an extraordinary effort to spread the truth."

"The Commission cannot make any better recommendation than to utilize the present conditions as necessitating an active campaign of education and dissemination of Catholic doctrine and knowledge and every community should be aroused to do its part toward the distribution of the different booklets which are being prepared, so as to get into the hands of non-Catholics, the real facts and the real truth."

"We are now beginning to get the co-operation of the press, as well as the news bureaus and there ought to be in your Council, a Committee of Publicity and Distribution, for we are all agreed that the negative position of treating these matters with silent contempt is not the proper procedure."

"Regarding your suggestion about having the laws of libel so changed that they will apply to an organization, as well as to an individual, this matter is covered very nicely in a recent editorial by Lyman Abbott in 'The Outlook,' but now that Congress has adjourned, there can be nothing

in the way of additional legislation for some time to come; however, this matter will be borne very well in mind."

"Regarding our Catholic weekly papers, which you say, candidly speaking, could be more of a credit to our Church, there can hardly be any dispute along these lines and this is one of the very great problems of our Commission. All of us must realize that our non-Catholic brethren have not a monopoly on mistakes and intolerance and in bringing about better feeling, this should always be borne in mind."

"We note with pleasure that you published the entire statement of the Protestants of Little Rock, who protested against the anti-Catholic agitation and we commend you for it. It could be wished that more Catholic editors had carried this and that all of them would be, as you seem to be, on the lookout for such matters."

"Permit us to express our appreciation of the spirit and tone of your editorial. It is to be regretted that all editors are not, as yourself, solicitous for the promotion of good will among people of all denominations. Constitutionally, this is a free country and the American people are imbued to the core with the spirit of fair play, but occasionally, a few self-seeking hypocrites set out to stir up enmity among neighbors and friends who otherwise would continue to enjoy their free rights in peace and comfort. We hope that you will have no objections to our giving your fair-minded expression publicity, because it illustrates the only right attitude and the only proper policy for American newspapers to adopt and to follow."

VI.

THE PRESS.

1. At the Chicago meeting in March Chairman Callahan introduced Mr. Edgar E. Cutter, Assistant Manager of the Associated Press, who had been requested by Mr. Melville E. Stone, General Manager, to call upon the Commission and explain the methods of the Associated Press in handling news.

The interest of Mr. Stone grew out of correspondence between him and Mr. Callahan, in which the latter called attention to a very earnest feeling on the part of Catholics that they were being discriminated against by the Associated Press, mentioning in particular its failure to carry any item in reference to either the Father Rossman suit against "The Menace" or the prosecution at the instance of the Order begun by E. M. Lawless against the editors of the "Waterville Sentinel," Waterville, Minn.

The interview on the whole was very satisfactory and the Commissioners felt assured of the good intention of the Associated Press in the premises. Mr. Cutter suggested,

however, that there should be more co-operation on the part of ourselves in furnishing news items on matters of importance or of interest to Knights of Columbus and to Catholics generally and, as a step in this direction, that an outline of such matters wherever possible be submitted in advance to the local Associated Press representative. He felt sure that anything that fairly could be considered as of news value would be handled without reference to its religious bearing.

It should be mentioned in this connection that all statements issued by the Chairman, in connection with the Commission's work, have been cheerfully carried by the Associated Press on all of its trunk lines and in all of its districts. The Commissioners are of the opinion that a little more appreciation on the part of Catholics of the news value of Associated Press dispatches, will result in such a uniform demand for news on matters affecting Catholics, that the Associated Press will be glad to publish it in every district where it is likely to prove of interest.

2. As to the press in general, it is a gratification to be able to report that it has been generally fair. From editorial expressions and news items, coming from every part of the country, it seems that the object of the Commission, its policy and its work, are indorsed by practically every newspaper of note. The organization no doubt is familiar with this attitude, since the "Columbiad" for several months has been carrying excerpts giving it expression, and while these are but a small part of the number of such expressions as have come to hand, they are sufficient to obviate the necessity of incumbering this report with further examples.

It may be added that no instance has appeared where our Order or Catholics have been denied space for any item having real news value. And wherever such papers conduct a "Common Forum" column it has been open to Catholics no less than to Protestants, and not a few of our members have made use of this forum in replying to unwarranted attacks upon ourselves or our faith. This practice on the part of Catholics cannot be commended too highly, for, as a brother who has wide experience in the newspaper business writes us, "the newspapers would use more matter pertaining to the activities of the Church, if the matter was gotten up in the right way. We ourselves have been somewhat

to blame where news agencies did not seem to give us a square deal."

It has been the policy of the Commission, as far as possible, to encourage co-operation between the members and the press by stimulating the former to take advantage of every proper occasion to prepare a "story" for local papers and by expressions of appreciation to the latter, where such matter is carried, and especially where favorable editorial comment is made. In this way it is felt that a very cordial relation has been brought about between ourselves and the general press, which in the future can be made a source of mutual benefit.

3. Of the magazine, or periodical press, as yet only a few have become interested in the movement to eliminate religious prejudice. It is a gratification, however, that among those few are such periodicals as "The Century," "North American Review," "Literary Digest," etc. "Harper's" has already carried articles, "The Outlook" has favorably noticed our criticisms, and the "Metropolitan" has opened its columns to us.

As public opinion in our favor clearly is growing more pronounced, we may expect shortly to be able to procure space in the leading magazines, though of course the prevailing demand for war stories will delay this for a while. It will be necessary, in addition, however, to interest those of us who are qualified to prepare acceptable articles, so that they will occasionally bend their energies to further this commendable work, which is regarded as one of the most effective means of reaching the intelligent classes.

With the Associated Press giving us notice, and the general press displaying friendship for us, the busy, hurried public can be informed, and with the periodicals carrying well written, interesting, broad-minded articles, the sober thinking public also will be reached in a manner conducive to fair-minded consideration, which is all we need, and all we ask.

4. In this connection, the attitude of the Catholic press should be considered. We have heard the complaint that some of the Catholic papers are needlessly bitter in their

attitude to non-Catholics, thus taking a position which bars friendliness and invites retort and counter attack. We most urgently ask our Catholic editors and contributors to guard against such an attitude or the publication of matter that can be so construed. The truth and beauty of Catholic teaching, the character and dignity of the Catholic position, the life and conduct of Catholics generally, are quite sufficient to stand upon their own merits.

On the other hand, our Catholic press should be more liberally supported by our members, for plainly there is ample ground to complain of laxity, if not delinquency, in this particular; indeed, this is true to such an extent that the Commission feels impelled to make a special recommendation along this line.

VII.

ANTI-CATHOLIC PAPERS.

Originally, it was the intention to devote the labors of the Commission principally to investigating publications exclusively engaged in propagating suspicion and hatred for all things Catholic, but it was found that those responsible for such publications individually were of little consequence and it was thought better to direct activity along broader lines. It seems well, however, to set out the names of papers discovered to be of an exclusive anti-Catholic character, since a record of these and the places where published may prove of service in time to come.

Some of these (a) are largely of a political character, while others (b) present a religious aspect and they are classified accordingly. The list here given is not complete; in fact, a complete list could hardly be made up, since papers of this character are continually springing up and as continually defaulting. This list is as of February last (1915) and several of the papers named no longer exist.

(a)

The Campaign, Boston, Mass.
The Denver American, Denver, Col.
The Gopher, Los Angeles, Cal.

Woman's Witness, Anderson, Ind.
The Ram's Horn, Alberta, Canada.
The Free Press, Monroe, Wis.
The Mountain Advocate, Barbourville, Ky.
The Menace, Aurora, Mo.
The American Citizen, Rochester, N. Y.
The Liberator, Magnolia, Ark.
The Converted Catholic, Toledo, Ohio.
The Lookout, Cincinnati, Ohio.
The Telescope, Dayton, Ohio.
The Guardians of Liberty, New York, N. Y.
The Masses, New York, N. Y.
The Jeffersonian, Atlanta, Ga.
Watson's Magazine, Thomson, Ga.
The Rip Saw, St. Louis, Mo.
The Melting Pot, St. Louis, Mo.
The Patriot, St. Louis, Mo.
The Peril, Wilkesboro, N. C.
Silverton Journal, Silverton, Ore.
Mankato Journal, Mankato, Minn.
The Yellow Jacket, Moravian Falls, N. C.

(b)

Liberty, Washington, D. C.
The Protestant Magazine, Washington, D. C.
The Good Citizen, Zarephath, N. J.
The Christian Standard, Cincinnati, Ohio.
The Christian Herald, New York, N. Y.
The Free Methodist, Chicago, Ill.
The Christian Worker Magazine, Chicago, Ill.
The Globe, Gravette, Ark.
The Crusader, Iola, Kansas.

Among these papers, "The Menace" was the widest advertised and it had the largest circulation. It was the pioneer in the present anti-Catholic campaign, most of the others in this class having begun after it started in 1911 and plainly being induced to begin by the extraordinary profits of the Menace Co., which, in the case of Father Rossman v. Menace Publishing Co., were shown to be $500.00 on each share of $100.00 during the first quarter of 1914. (Since they began business, their receipts have been over $3,000,000.)

The circulation of this paper at the close of 1914 exceeded 1,400,000.

This numerous circulation was induced partly by political activities during the election of 1914 and partly by the unavoidable advertising given to the publication by the numerous efforts to exclude papers of this type from circulation in the mail. This movement followed the action of the Postmaster General of Canada, who in April, 1914, excluded "The Menace" from circulation through the mails of the Dominion and it was the occasion of a great hue and cry over the country about the freedom of the press.

In consequence, the postal authorities, members of the Congress and other officials, in personal letters and published articles from every part of the country, were importuned without ceasing—on the one hand by Catholics, who, seeing the peace and morality of citizens endangered, opposed the mail being longer used to circulate obscene, filthy and indecent matter—on the other hand by non-Catholics, who, overjealous of a free press, rashly imagined a movement to secure a clean mail to be an attack on one of our most cherished institutions.

The open letters of Paul Bakewell, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo., to the Postmaster General, which have been published at length in "The Columbiad," are worthy of special mention, as they are a strong legal argument against the position of the latter, who has persistently maintained that he is without authority to exclude obscene, filthy or indecent publications from the second class privileges of the mails (see Postmaster General's annual report for 1914, pp. 46, 47, 48 and contra, Mr. Blakewell's second open letter, "The Columbiad," February, 1915).

Although unwilling to take action affecting the continued use of the mails by such publications, the Postmaster General referred the matter to the Department of Justice for the prosecution of past offenders under Section 211 Penal Code, prohibiting the circulation through the mail of obscene, filthy or indecent publications. Accordingly, February, 1915, in the United States Court at Joplin, Mo., four officers of the Menace Company were indicted on several counts for depositing "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy and indecent matter into the mail." The trial on these charges

was set for the June term of the Federal Court, but illness on the part of some of the defendants or their families, caused a continuance of the case to the January, 1916, term.

The libel suit of Father Rossman of West Virginia against the Menace Company should be mentioned in this connection. Although the character and standing of this priest were of the very highest, "The Menace" published a false and malicious statement reflecting on him and contrary to its usual caution, mentioned his name, which made the publishers liable to action for libel. Suit was promptly filed against the Menace Company by Father Rossman and the result was a judgment in favor of the plaintiff, a jury of the defendants' own State of Missouri, awarding him $1,500.

The defendant made no effort to justify the statement made. The only defense attempted was in the way of an argument by the defendants' lawyers that the reputation of "The Menace" was so notorious that its libels could not result in substantial damage to one of Father Rossman's standing. The award was duly paid.

VIII.

ANTI-CATHOLIC SOCIETIES.

The meetings of the anti-Catholic speakers are usually conducted under the auspices of a member of the "Federation of Patriotic Societies," which is made up chiefly of the Guardians of Liberty, Knights of Luther and the Covenanters, and of which Gen. Nelson A. Miles is the leading personage. These societies, whose principles, aims, officers, members, etc., are all secret, were organized about the time of the elections of 1912 and, apart from arranging for and advertising the speaking dates of anti-Catholic propagandists, their principal activity is in trying to influence elections as they come around.

The Covenanters are the most outspoken in their hostility to Catholics, their obligation expressly binding them not to vote for, employ or trade with Catholics in any way they can help. They were very active during the fall of 1914, especially about election time, but seem since to have suspended, as letters addressed to their former headquarters in various cities are no longer delivered.

The Knights of Luther are scarce different from the Covenanters and but of little more consequence, although now and then we learn of a lecture being given under their auspices. They secure some patronage, however, by virtue of their name, which by some is taken to indicate that they are connected with the Lutherans. This, of course, is not true and the Lutherans not only have repeatedly disclaimed any connection with the organization, but have also condemned its objects and its methods. Especially among the Lutheran ministers is it seen that their religion must suffer from any connection with this society.

The Guardians of Liberty claim that they are not hostile to Catholics or to Catholic teaching, but that their aim is "to protect Catholics from persecution from their own leaders." Thus they draw that distinction between Catholics and the Clergy and the Church which so often in the past has been used by wily politicians as an entering wedge to divide the unity which is a chief support of our faith: "When the Greeks bear gifts, they are most hostile."

A candidate for Governor in Florida put a plank in his platform to the effect that he was against turning the State over to the control of Rome, and Chairman Callahan wrote to him to learn what particular circumstances in Florida called for such a platform. The gentleman proved to be a "Guardian" and the letter was referred to the "Court" of Florida, which appointed a committee to reply. The letter of the committee and also Brother Callahan's answer were published in August "Columbiad," but are too lengthy to be set out here.

IX.

THE LAW OF LIBEL.

The Father Rossman case brings up a question respecting the general law of libel, which the Commission has taken some pains to consider at length. While most States have special statutes defining libel, it seems that not any of them so define it as to make libelous false statements concerning

societies, organizations or other collective bodies, unless same is made in a way to connect and reflect injuriously upon a particular person.

Published statements referring to priests or nuns collectively, to Knights of Columbus as a body, to Catholics in general, however false, malicious and scandalous, do not leave members of these classes any redress in courts of justice, whereas if such statements refer to a particular person their author is liable in damages and also may be prosecuted criminally.

This striking inadequacy of the law of libel is quite well known to papers of "The Menace" type, which take full advantage of it in maliciously publishing scandalous inventions by the wholesale. At the same time they argue to their credulous readers, who are unaware of this defect in the law, that the failure of those they accuse to prosecute them, is an admission of guilt.

And it is rather discouraging to find that this hypocritical argument carries weight among well informed classes. For instance, "The Outlook," in opposing the exclusion from the mails of such papers as "The Menace," took occasion to say editorially (March 24, 1915) in effect that those aggrieved by Menace statements should seek their remedy in the courts. "The Outlook's" attention was called to the failure of the law to afford a remedy in the premises and thereupon it suggested "such a change in the libel law as will render publications liable to criminal prosecution for libels against organizations, ecclesiastical or secular," saying "there is no reason why societies and churches should not be furnished the protection which is furnished to individuals."

The expressed view is concurred in by the Commission. Whether or not the time is ripe for a systematic campaign looking to such an amendment to the law of libel is not clear, but justice requires that the law in this respect should be brought into harmony with modern conditions of society.

This brings to mind the two bills last February introduced into the Congress by Brothers Fitzgerald, of New York, and Gallivan, of Boston, to amend the Postal laws in a way looking to the exclusion from the mails of publications devoted to maligning religious societies and organizations. (It should be said that this step was not taken at the instance of the Commission.) The bills were not reported out of Committee; but hearing was had upon them, and certain ministers and leaders of anti-Catholic bodies took occasion to read into the record lengthy attacks upon the Church and her institutions and many radical opinions regarding the freedom of the press and the privileges of the mail.

As gathered from many expressions from conservative sources, the general public looked upon this action as a political move, incited by Catholics, for the purpose of abridging the freedom of the press. It seems that the public generally are of the opinion that the right of the press to free expression involves a right to use the mails for the distribution at second class rates of all opinions, however malicious or false. This idea, of course, is erroneous, but it would seem that its erroneous character must be made plain to the public before any legislative action marking out the distinction could meet with the approval requisite to its adequate enforcement. Besides, it is not conclusively certain that the Postmaster General has not all the authority in the premises that could be desired.

If, in addition to, or in connection with, an amendment to the State laws affecting libel, the Federal law also could be amended in the particular set out above, certainly the Postmaster General's authority would be ample to meet all requirements. The freedom of the press, however, is not involved in either case. No one has a right to publish a lie about anybody or anything, and while the expression of erroneous opinions, notions or ideas, lawfully cannot be restricted, the publication of matters that are false in fact should not be tolerated where it can be prevented. Much less should the mail, which is supported at the expense of all the people, be used for the circulation, by one class, of matter which is known to be false and which is intended to be injurious to another class.

It is the opinion of the Commission that no effort should be spared to educate the public at large in regard to the distinction between the right of the press freely to publish all truth and any expression of opinion and the non-right to publish falsehood, or to circulate through the mails at the general expense, opinions that are calculated to incite malice and hatred toward a particular class.

X.

FALSE PRETENSES.

Among the several anti-Catholic lecturers are men and women who falsely represent themselves to have been Catholics, even priests, or nuns. This assumed character of an "ex" seems to be a source of attraction for the morbid-minded and draws crowds which would not otherwise assemble, because such a speaker is expected to relate "personal experiences" of more or less salacious color.

So, it came about in Wisconsin, where one Helen Jackson, pretending to be an ex-nun, gave a lecture purporting to relate her life as a nun in a Michigan convent, that the district attorney who knew the woman had never been in a convent anywhere, inquired of the Attorney General whether or not such a false representation, if relied on by those paying admission to hear the speaker, constituted the offense of obtaining money under false pretenses. The Attorney General replied:

> "A person who represents that she is a former nun and pretends to relate the cruelty practiced upon her while a nun, when her story is wholly false, is guilty of false pretenses. If you are able to show that relying on those representations, persons attended her meeting and paid admission, all the elements of the crime of securing money under false pretenses will be established."

In view of the fact that the utterances of such speakers, though both malicious and false, as a rule do not subject them to the penalties for criminal slander, and considering that their statements made in public and under the guise of personal experience, must carry a degree of conviction, it would seem that the opinion of the Wisconsin Attorney General has a bearing that might very well be given further attention, and while the Commission does not make any recommendation in this particular, the suggestion is submitted for what it is worth.

XI.

CONCLUSION.

What, then, have we done?

If putting into the hands of millions a propaganda of truth and justice and good will, brought results that could

be reduced to definite terms, we might claim much, but effects from such causes being unmeasurable, we can only say that we have done this much, and pray the light of God's grace for those who read!

If a kindly personal letter to thousands, bespeaking justice and fair play and informing them in Catholic teaching on matters that excite prejudice, can be counted as something done—if fair and honest answers make this a worthy accomplishment in the breaking down of prejudice—then has this much been effected.

If securing fair consideration from the Associated Press, generous approval from the secular press, moderation of expression from the religious press, so that these principal channels leading to the public mind, will be open to the truth and closed to falsehood and scandal—if this be achievement worth while and if stimulating our members and Catholics generally to greater interest and activity in putting before the public in their proper light the truth and beauty of Catholic teaching, makes this achievement all the greater—the labors of the Commission have not been spent in vain.

Considering the unprecedented character of our appointed task, the intangible nature of the factors to be dealt with, the wide extent of territory to be covered, the numerous interests which conflicted with our purpose, and more especially with our policy, it is hoped that this account of our stewardship, though not all that it might be, may not prove unacceptable. Those who expected our work to result in the advancement of political or business interests among themselves or their friends, perforce must be disappointed. Those who looked for prejudice to disappear before our efforts like a mist before the sun, will find their dream unrealized. But those who thought the undertaking of the Commission must come to naught, if indeed it did not make matters worse, and those who, with this idea or through apathy, withheld their assistance from us, may well ponder the salient features of this report, and consider that it really covers only eight months of actual work.

In conclusion we submit that the great undertaking of dispelling prejudice, of allaying suspicion and enmity against Catholics and of bringing about a feeling of friendship and

conditions of peace among citizens of all creeds, through setting before the world, by word and example, the teaching and position of our Holy Church—is worthy of the noblest efforts that our Order can put forth, and deserving of the heartiest co-operation and the best counsel of each member, and of all Catholics, if not indeed of all men. And we believe, with an abiding confidence, that in patience, perseverance and prayer, there can be achieved such a measure of success in this endeavor as will reflect glory upon our Order forever. With a view to continuing the work begun to this end, we submit the following:

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(1)

CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

That considering a principal cause of prejudice to be the error prevailing among otherwise well informed non-Catholics regarding the nature of our allegiance to the Pope, as if our fealty to our spiritual head were incompatible with our duty as citizens, we should lose no occasion to declare the position of Catholics in this matter, namely, that we owe allegiance to the President as chief executive of the United States, and regard him as supreme in all that concerns our civil and political life just as we owe allegiance to the Pope as head of our Church, and regard him as supreme in all that concerns our religion.

The authority of the Church and the authority of the State are exercised in different domains: the one in religious matters, the other in civil, and they cannot conflict except where the one or the other goes beyond its duly constituted province. On the contrary, in this country they mutually help one another. Both Federal and State constitutions guarantee freedom of belief and worship while the Church is constantly enjoining submission to civil authority, loyalty to American institutions, honesty in civil and commercial life, justice and cordial relations between employer and employe and purity in social and domestic life.

There is no reason for raising this question. The history of this country furnishes abundant evidence that Catholics

are always ready to make a full measure of sacrifice in time of war and to give a full measure of devotion in time of peace. The words of Washington remind us of the gratitude due them for their part in the first Revolution. The first Commodore of our Navy was a Catholic, as was also the first General of our Cavalry, and Catholics in great numbers have been officers and privates in all our wars. Catholics in high executive places, in legislative halls, both National and State, in judicial capacities, from the lowest to the highest, and in every other public walk, have been numerous and none have been lacking in true patriotic regard for the laws and the institutions of our country.

(2)

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

That, considering another principal cause of prejudice to be the mistaken opinion which many non-Catholics hold that Catholics aim to secure control of the public schools, we point to the fact that many Catholics are prominently identified with our public school system, being chairmen of, and at times constituting a majority upon, Boards of Education, being also superintendents and principals and teachers by the thousand in the public schools of every grade—and yet there has never been, there is not now, nor is there warrant for thinking there ever will be, any attempt on their part to interfere in any manner with the advancement of common school education in any part of the United States. We should strive to illumine the public mind with the truth and get the people to understand our true educational ideas, namely, that we do not desire to control the public schools, nor to hinder education, nor to force Catholicity upon unwilling minds, but that we desire universal education, would have it free where possible and would make it compulsory where necessary. And while we have no fault to find with those outside our faith who wish their children to attend the public schools, for ourselves we prefer a school where religion is taught and only regret that all cannot see how important it is that the youth of the country be taught

the truths of religion during the years when the mind is being opened and the character is being formed. We consider this so necessary that we are maintaining separate schools while at the same time we bear our share in supporting the public schools, confident that the religious instinct of the American people will yet find a way in which citizens of every religious belief can have their children educated in the religion of their fathers. We cannot close this reference to Catholic schools without calling attention to the devotion and sacrifice of members of the various religious orders and societies, without which the Catholic ideal of education would have been impossible of achievement.

(3)

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

That, aware of the part which social conditions play in preparing a field for the cultivation and growth of prejudice, we urge our members to become more intimately acquainted with social problems and more closely identified with right movements looking to their solution, and that they actively join with those of all other creeds and stand as a body for the betterment of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship. And in this connection we urge all Councils to continue the practice of celebrating the patriotic and legal holidays of their respective jurisdictions.

(4)

CATHOLIC PRESS.

That a more active support be given to the Catholic press, not only by our subscribing to more Catholic papers, but by our contributing more freely to their columns; there is an abundance of talent in the Order that could thus be utilized. Each Council should urge upon members to subscribe for half a dozen papers each and having read them, to pass them on to their non-Catholic friends and neighbors; provided, of course, they do not contain any harsh or unnecessary criticism of our separated brethren. In this connection,

we cannot refrain from a special mention of "Our Sunday Visitor," which is excellently adapted both in matter and tone, for distribution among non-Catholics, and from which Catholics also may derive much valuable information on the subjects that are most often misunderstood by others. We recommend this paper not as a substitute for other Catholic papers but to be patronized in addition to them as one filling a peculiar field of work and published at a very small price.

(5)

GENERAL PRESS.

That in addition to writing for the Catholic press our members should also prepare occasional articles for the general press and for distribution in pamphlet form. It seems not too much to say that each Council should have at least one member who is able and willing to prepare a readable, instructive, broad-minded article, setting forth the position of Catholics on matters of interest to the public, and the Council should see that same is given publicity. Members who write plays for moving pictures should try to interest their patrons in scenarios portraying the unhappiness which springs from feelings of enmity and suspicion engendered in a community, also picturing the life, work, duties, trials and triumphs of priests and nuns.

(6)

LECTURES.

That the propaganda work of the Supreme Council be supplemented by lectures in keeping with our policy of stimulating a better feeling among citizens of all religions, and that effort be made to interest Chautauqua managers in lectures calculated to neutralize the activity of the bigots who stir up enmity and hate among men of different faiths. Attention is called to the action of several State Councils in projecting lecture courses in their jurisdictions; there appears no reason why such courses could not be undertaken and carried out in each State.

(7)

THE COMMISSION.

That the Commission on Religious Prejudices be continued with the same powers and under the same conditions and limitations as when created last year, with power on the part of the Supreme Knight, however, to enlarge the number of members, and with the understanding that the amount that the Commission may expend will not exceed the sum of $20,000.

Respectfully submitted,

P. H. CALLAHAN, Chairman.
JOSEPH SCOTT.
JOS. C. PELLETIER.
THOS. A. LAWLER.
A. G. BAGLEY.

August Second, Nineteen Fifteen.

Report of Commission on Religious Prejudices

SUPREME COUNCIL
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
DAVENPORT
AUGUST, 1916

OPPOSING all manner of discord, condemning every form of ill-will, frowning on religious prejudice as a cause of internal dissension and pleading for that sympathy and unity among neighbors which the common history, the common interest, the common destiny of the whole American people make imperative in the fulfillment of their hopes and aims.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES.

Supreme Council, Knights of Columbus, Davenport, Iowa, 1916.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL, KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, IN ANNUAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, DAVENPORT, IOWA, AUGUST, 1916.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council at Seattle, Washington, August, 1915, the Commission on Religious Prejudices, created at the annual meeting in St. Paul, Minn., August, 1914, "to study the causes, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for the religious prejudice that has been manifest through press and rostrum in a malicious and scurrilous campaign that is hostile to the spirit of American freedom and liberty and contrary to God's law of 'Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself,' presented the first report of its investigations and findings, together with such recommendations as then seemed called for.

That report having been concurred in, and the Commission having been continued with the same powers and under the same limitations as when created, they do now respectfully submit to your consideration this further account of their labors.

I. ORGANIZATION.

The organization of the Commission has been preserved as first constituted. The original membership, composed of Col. P. H. Callahan, Chairman, Louisville, Ky.; Mr. A. G. Bagley, Vancouver, B. C., Vice-Chairman; Hon. Jos. C. Pelletier, Boston, Mass., Hon. Jos. Scott, Los Angeles, Cal., Hon. Thos. A. Lawler, Lansing, Mich., has remained unchanged except that in May of this year, Commissioner Bagley, having taken up other work with the Supreme Council, to the regret of his colleagues tendered his resignation.

The principal work of the Commission has been conducted from the Chairman's office at Louisville, Ky., where, under his personal direction, a Bureau, consisting of Assistant to the Chairman, Secretary and Corresponding Secretary of the Commission, meet each day to go over correspondence, answer inquiries, note news items and editorials, frame suitable replies to unfriendly articles, pass on the availability of suggested propaganda and devise ways and means for its proper distribution, send out general instructions and information in regard to the work and where occasion requires assist local committees with suggestions and advice. In this manner more than a thousand letters and hundreds of articles are handled each month and there is hardly any aspect or bearing of prejudice that is not in some way treated.

Each of the Commissioners at times takes charge of some particular phase of the work and all are in daily correspondence with the Chairman's office. In addition, the members of the Commission or of the Chairman's Bureau make frequent visits to sections where personal attention is necessary properly to cope with local conditions or special investigation seems by circumstances required.

The Chairman has visited the principal cities of the country to confer with prominent citizens, public leaders, men of affairs and heads of organizations so as to secure their views and impressions as well as their counsel regarding the work in hand. He has found this method conducive to a broad understanding of the numerous angles touching on prejudice in its various manifestations. On special occasions he has visited several localities where extreme conditions seemed to exist and were giving our members very much anxiety, and on all these occasions the membership in those places seemed to derive a great deal of comfort and satisfaction in being able to have some central department to which they might turn when threatened with serious results on account of local prejudice, as circumstances at times make it more difficult for local members to approach and handle the situation. The Commission always endeavors in cases of this kind to outline a definite program which, if followed, will bring about an improved condition; but, as is very often the case, when politics may be largely responsible for religious prejudice we have concluded that we should bide our time for our own campaign, and not attempt to carry out our propaganda simultaneously with political elections.

The Commissioners hold meetings every ninety days or so to go over their work, give their impressions and opinions, exchange ideas and discuss plans, all informally and at length. To these meetings are invited diverse representative people, clergymen, public officers, editors, writers and other professional men, Catholic and non-Catholic, who are thought to be in touch with conditions and movements in their respective localities. Their experence and views being given, there is an exchange of ideas as to causes, remedies, procedure, and in this way all receive a newer, broader and truer conception of actual conditions prevailing and their practical bearing on our work of stimulating a saner and more tolerant feeling among citizens of every belief.

II. OUR WORK.

LECTURES.

The sixth recommendation of our former Report contemplated a campaign of "lectures in keeping with our policy of creating a better feeling among citizens of all religions and calculated to neutralize the activity of those who stir up enmity and hate among men of different beliefs." This was one of the recommendations most heartily endorsed by the Supreme Council. Accordingly, early in the fall of 1915, arrangements were begun for inaugurating this movement at Chicago. The Honorable W. Bourke Cockran, of New York, consented to make the opening address, and selected the Commission's slogan, "A Plea for Peace," as the title of his subject. The Chicago Coliseum was engaged for the occasion and the Chicago Knights, headed by the State Deputy of Illinois, perfected the arrangements for an immense gathering of people, a large percentage of which were non-Catholics, to hear the distinguished orator of our Order.

The following account of the meeting published in the Columbiad shows the cause for encouragement the Commission felt over the success of this initial step in the movement:

"On November 29th, in the great Chicago Coliseum, Brother W. Bourke Cockran addressed an audience of some 13,000 on the subject of 'Peace.' Brother Cockran's address was a masterly effort, and the audience assembled to hear the celebrated orator was a credit both to him and to the Knights of Chicago who neglected no effort and no detail in arranging for the extraordinary and enthusiastic reception of the speaker and all visitors.

"The Honorable Judge Alschuler, of the U. S. Court of Appeals, introduced the speaker with very timely remarks in keeping with the Commission's very first suggestion that we enter on this work with clean hands, saying that all of us would do better 'not to look for the mote in his brother's eye until he had taken the beam out of his own,' which, coming from Judge Alschuler, who is a Jew and a Mason, received most energetic applause, and went a long way to bring about more cordial relations. Brother Geo. F. Mulligan, of Chicago, who had charge of the arrangements, and Brother Wm. N. Brown, the State Deputy, also made addresses in which they fittingly described the object and the spirit of the occasion which drew together such a great number of citizens of all religious beliefs. Five thousand seats were reserved at the express request of non-Catholics, ministers, public officials, school teachers, heads of fraternal societies, etc. The occasion and the temper of the audience were a brilliant testimonial of the good will of people of all denominations, and while Brother Cockran's remarks in the main were devoted to a discussion of peace among the warring nations abroad, enough was said to impress upon the great gathering the necessity for all persons uniting to preserve peace at home, particularly among persons of different denominations who in common profess to obey the undying command that we 'love one another.'"

Following this auspicious opening Commissioner Scott, early in January, 1916, made a tour of the principal cities in the East and Middle West, speaking in the main to our own membership, his aim being to awaken them to the importance of the Commission's recommendations and the wide bearing their own conduct and attitude have in helping or hindering the cause.

The keynote of Brother Scott's speech to the membership is sounded in the following typical quotations:

"Whether you know the history of the Catholic Church or not, or whether you are a cynic or a skeptic, I think you will have to agree that if Catholics cannot thrive in this country, if they cannot have the full exercise of their powers here, they have no chance in any country; because if your lines have been thrown as mine have, you have been living among a class of people who are fairminded and sincere and who wish to do the right thing by us and our Church. Therefore, we feel, we who have studied this question from all sides, that it is a cheerful work, full of hope, full of promise, full of optimism. And that is why they brought me here from California for a few lectures to ourselves that we ourselves might understand better how to make our attitude a little more approachable."

And speaking of Catholic politicians who trade upon their religion:

"Remember this above everything else, that neither I nor any other Catholic has a right to say 'I want your vote!' Politics, as you know, must not in any way be brought into the Order, and any man going around claiming the Catholic vote on the ground of his being a Catholic and a Knight ought to be thrown into the discard."

The first itinerary of Brother Scott was to see at close range how much the Knights were interested in our work and how well they would take advice in those matters causing prejudice which Catholics largely can remedy where they are responsible for them. The experiment was more than justified. It was plain that our membership was waiting for a message, a rally call, and the Commission was confirmed in its opinion that a principal part of this work must be in the way of developing among ourselves the very best and highest standards of attitude and utterance toward our neighbors.

In April, Brother Scott made a second tour, this time speaking to the public in the largest assembling places obtainable. The following from a leading daily paper of Philadelphia, where this itinerary was begun, will give an idea of the character of this address, entitled "Patriotism vs. Prejudice":

"Every Catholic of Europe is following the flag of his country, although some of those flags represent countries which have enacted laws that have been grossly discriminating against Catholics. Why do they do it?

"The gentle nuns have come back from their exile in the native land of France to minister to their wounded and dying compatriots. Some 20,000 priests are now serving as soldiers in the army of France, obedient to the commands of a country that has heaped every form of contempt and ignominy upon them. Why do they do it?

"During the reign of the present King of England attention was called to the oath required of him before he could ascend the throne, which was so revolting and insulting to Catholics that the King himself choked at the thought of swallowing it. Yet to-day the British Catholics are rallying under the British flag. Why do they do it?

"For many years in Germany, particularly under Bismarck, the Catholic Church has been curtailed in its legitimate exercises. Yet when the present war broke out the Catholic hierarchy of Germany to a man issued a soul-stirring appeal to the Catholics of the nation. Why do they do it?

"This is likewise the spirit of the American Catholic. He knows, too, that his fellow citizens, in spite of their limited opportunities to know and understand the Catholic faith, are all warm-hearted, fair-minded and tolerant by nature, and will not be driven, in spite of unscrupulous efforts in that direction, to an anti-papal panic. For myself, I have an abiding faith in the American people. May God bless them all."

Brother Scott's best impression on this tour is expressed by him as follows:

"I think we cannot be too emphatic in applauding the co-operation of our non-Catholic citizens in the cordiality of their response to the invitation of the local committees to attend these lectures. For instance, it would have done your heart good to see the finish of the tour; there were the Supreme Court Justices, the Superior Court Judges, the Governor of the State and his staff, and numerous other public officials and men prominent in every walk of life in the City."

PROPAGANDA.

The distribution of propaganda mentioned in the Commission's first report has continued unabated, and frequent requests are still received for the pamphlet and articles mentioned.—"A Plea for Peace," "A Protest and a Plea," "Knights of Columbus vs. Criminal Libel," "Catholic Patriotism and Parochial Schools," "The Church and Bible," "Anti-Papal Panic."

The greatest demand for such literature, however, has been in regard to the pamphlet entitled, "A Message to all Patriotic Citizens," in which are compiled a number of eloquent tributes to the Catholic Church, spoken by members of the great body of non-Catholic ministers and public men who are fair-minded toward her and her teachings and her people.

Of the "Message" more than a half million copies have been sent out, and Councils all over the country are still asking for more, some for as many as ten thousand in a shipment.

The object in sending out this pamphlet, the class of people to be reached and the plan of distribution are set out in the following paragraphs of a letter sent to all the Councils:

"This pamphlet is prepared, both in matter and form, to appeal to a class of people who have been reading the scurrilous anti-Catholic papers, in the rural districts as well as in the large shops where these false and scandalous papers are distributed and discussed and, being grossly misleading do very much damage.

"The compilation of this booklet might be considered like the evidence of a law-suit except that we are using only witnesses from the other side, who have been fair and brave enough to state their views on these matters and allow us to go to their very same people, hoping that great good will come from a thorough understanding and bring about peace among citizens of all creeds.

"It has been the observation not only of ourselves but of most everyone, that where people who have not had all the advantages of education find that conditions have been misrepresented and they have been deceived, they have a very much changed attitude when shown the truth, and will immediately become our friends. Therefore, a proper distribution of this 'Message' will go far to eliminate the results that come from religious enmity, which has been commercialized by the mercenary publishers of these papers, and by speakers of the ex-nun and ex-priest variety.

"Many of our brothers are employed in shops where the distribution of the anti-Catholic literature has produced an almost hostile attitude on the part of non-Catholics toward people of our Faith. These brothers will be the first to appreciate the value of a pamphlet such as we have prepared, and they should consider it not only a duty but a pleasure to take a bundle of the 'Message' and see that individual copies are placed in the hands of their fellow workmen, where they cannot help but act as an effective antidote to the anti-Catholic and un-American propaganda."

The Commission feel that the distribution of this compilation has been most effective as a propaganda, and that it is indicative of the best means of stimulating among our non-Catholic friends and neighbors a livelier respect for Catholic teaching. Here are some of the sentiments expressed in regard to this pamphlet:

"Can you duplicate our order for Messages? We will pay express if necessary, but must have them; they are taking like wildfire."

* * * * *

"It is the greatest thing we have ever put out; people who did not speak before meet us now with a 'how do you do'?"

* * * * *

"There is nothing like 'A Message' to trail the anti-Catholic speaker. No matter what stand he takes it knocks his props out and lays him low while the ministers of the religion he believes tower above him—sincere, honest, true men."

* * * * *

"It serves a double purpose; it shows the Catholic that most of the intelligent non-Catholics are fair-minded, and it shows the non-Catholic that our Church is a great and glorious institution which it does no man honor to hate and gives no man shame to love."

* * * * *

"If the Commission had done nothing else, the compilation of this booklet would more than justify its creation."

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In addition to publishing the Report of the Commission of last year in the Columbiad for October we had it printed in attractive pamphlet form and marked copies were sent to each Council, accompanied by a letter of the Chairman from which the following are excerpted:

"This Report contains marked portions, which we believe can be read and discussed at several of your Council meetings, with a great deal of profit to the members, as well as for the good of the community.

"The Report is really of a constructive character and the members will be benefited a great deal by knowing what the Commission has learned and what they are doing and by cooperating with them in its recommendations, especially Number Three, 'to be more closely identified with right movements in every community.'

"We are also inclined to believe that non-Catholic clergymen, attorneys, editors, bankers, doctors, and business men, or others of prominence and influence, whose ideas go far in your community to shape public opinion will be apt to regard with favor, the findings and Recommendations of the Commission, and afterwards lend their assistance to a constructive program of reform in their communities.

"If you will appoint a Committee and send us the names of twenty-five such people in your community, we will send them a copy of the Report from this office, writing them of the aims and objects of our Commission."

Upon receipt of these "Lists of twenty-five," our Report was distributed to the leading and most influential citizens in nearly every community where we have a Council, accompanied by a letter from the Chairman setting out the purpose and the aim of the Commission in the following terms:

"The fundamental governing this Commission is to create sympathetic relations among citizens of all creeds who will 'stand as a body for the betterment of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship.'

"We are opposed to all manner of discord; we frown on religious prejudice and stand for religious liberty; we plead

for that sympathy and unity among neighbors, which the common history, the common interest, the common destiny of the whole American people, make imperative in the fulfillment of their hopes and aims."

The following excerpts from some of the hundreds of letters written us by the non-Catholics thus addressed, reveal the possibilities that lie in this quiet, candid, direct means of propaganda:

"Thank you for sending me a copy of the Report which I have read with much interest. I am a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I believe the Catholic Church is one of the greatest agencies for good in the world today."

"I think your report is just what is required in every city and town in this country. I believe you will find every fair-minded Protestant ready to meet you half way in discussions which in time will create harmony and brotherly love."

"It is a pleasure for me, as a very decided Protestant to express my hearty approval of your patriotic high-minded efforts to lift the religious question above the low plane of prejudice and cheap, vicious, un-American politics. If we all stand by the principles as you have pointed out I feel sure that the enemies of religious freedom who are seeking to inflame the passions of the ignorant will not succeed."

"Your foundation stone—'To stand as a body for the betterment of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship'—is fine, and it deserves the support of all our citizens. As a Mason, I am glad to see that you have favorable reports on their tolerance, etc., as in all the years I have been a Mason, I have yet to hear in meetings any thing spoken against the Catholic or any other church or anything of a political nature."

"I am a Presbyterian pastor and I have been here seven years. During these seven years the Catholic and Protestant churches have worked together in all matters pertaining to social welfare. I hear that at a city near us, the Catholic priest forbade his young people to graduate because a Protestant clergyman was on the program to make a prayer. There can certainly no harm come to one to hear a Protestant or Catholic pray. You can duplicate this with a similar act done by a Protestant minister, I have no doubt. Such foolishness should be frowned upon."

"I am a Mason, but I have always been opposed to religious prejudice. The reading of your report has gratified me wonderfully and I wish to assure you that my heart is with you in this noble work. A copy of your report in the hands

of every citizen will do worlds of good. I gave my copy to a friend, who is chuck full of prejudice with the hope that he may see the light."

"May the time soon come when all men will lay aside the religious intolerance of past ages. God bless the Catholics is the prayer that should be uttered by every manly Protestant."

CORRESPONDENCE.

The correspondence of the Commission has been much heavier during this second year; since "A Message" and the Report were sent out, it has been almost overwhelming. All manner of questions come up for treatment,—historical, political, economic, social, moral, and among them also are questions relating to dogma and theology, which, however, the Commission, of course, never undertake to handle directly. We feel that we cannot better illustrate the nature of this correspondence, and the questions to which it gives rise, than by showing some typical excerpts from letters received and sent out:

* * * * *

To a Protestant Editor:

Charity vs. Bigotry.

"Your issue of March 22nd carries an editorial where you refer to 'Romanism' as one of the 'wings of the army of Satan.' It must not feel good to belong to your church, if you must hold to this belief regarding your friends and neighbors; for, on the contrary, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, it has been my belief that good people will secure salvation and virtually belong to what we term the 'Soul of the Church.' How can you even think that fifteen millions of your friends and neighbors belong to the army of the Devil?"

From a Catholic Editor:

A Look Inward.

"We often dislike Protestants without reason and say things we should not. Less effort to antagonize would do a lot. I refer to our own Catholic publications, which often refer to Protestants in a most unbecoming manner. A marked copy sent to the editor making such mistakes seems to me the best method of correction."

To a Catholic Lawyer:

Where To Draw The Line.

"The attitude of Catholics toward the Y. M. C. A. is at times misunderstood and this is one of the causes of prejudice. It is very easy to understand why those who have to do with the handling and developing of men consider the Y. M. C. A. of inestimable value. However, you understand ethics, and the fact that Catholics are not allowed to hold office or take part in elections in the Association should naturally keep you out of the 'spotlight' in their activities, for only in this way can we retain our respect and hope to remedy matters."

To a Newspaper Man:

Carrying Matters to Extremes.

"In regard to advertisements for help specifying religion: in some kinds of help, as nurses, maids, governesses, religion is of considerable consequence; but where this matter is extended to ordinary labor, order boys, cooks, etc., as we saw in your paper, it shows very unsatisfactory conditions, which seem bound to interfere with the future happiness, peace and prosperity of your city."

From a Local Committee on Prejudice:

Missions and Lectures.

"We think it a good idea to hold, in all suitable places, a meeting for non-Catholics during the next year, and make one of the features a sermon explaining our obligation and allegiance to the Pope and also why we have and support Parochial Schools. We suggest that in each State a lecturer be appointed to visit each community and deliver lectures to enlighten Catholics and instil in them a spirit of tolerance. We believe that this work is of more importance than the campaign against Socialism, much as we are in favor of that."

From Rural Parts:

Pulpitless Preachers.

"It is in small country towns that a lot of so-called preachers,—evangelists (?) they style themselves—pitch their tents or preempt the school house or rent the town hall on the installment plan, and owing to a lack of ability to reach any higher plane, do their best to make the contribution box acceptable, by appealing to the prejudice of their audience; they go the limit in their abuse and slander, and as these people have heard such talk so often, one cannot blame them much for believing the stuff that is given them."

From Mississippi:

"The Menace" and The Bible.

"I have often seen the people in this section going to church with the Bible in one hand and the Menace in the other, and know of frequent occasions where the Menace was read from the pulpit in lieu of a sermon. Of course, these people are among the most ignorant classes, and they are poor, and it makes a decent man hot to think of the hard earned quarters and half-dollars that are coaxed out of them by such means."

From Kentucky:

The Roots of Perpetual Enmity.

"It is the custom in rural districts in my community for the Sunday School Teacher to read extracts from the Menace and such papers to the Bible classes. I have investigated this matter personally, and find that the teachers as a rule are not intellectually able to give talks much less an address, and they resort to this practice to help themselves and to 'give 'em something to talk about.' I cannot imagine anything more unchristianlike than to teach hate and enmity to young people and it's no wonder when they grow up they think myself and family all have horns and cloven feet."

From Minnesota:

Qualifications (?) of Some Preachers.

"I was in a town fifty miles from St. Paul in the writing room of a hotel where there was a Methodist meeting to arrange circuits, when the Presiding Elder brought in a farmer who wanted to be a preacher, and as a recommendation he could only give his experience of preaching in his country church, both times 'pitching into those Catholics and giving them the deuce,' etc., etc., and of being congratulated by the congregation on his fine and able efforts. Making it my business to talk with the Elder later in the day, he apologized for even his part in the conference and assured me his churches were discouraging anything of this kind and that the applicant was not given any consideration."

From Another State:

The Alliance of Liquor and Politics.

"Our duty is to prevent the liquor interests and politicians assuming to represent the Church. They should not be permitted to scandalize the Catholics of the Nation. We realize their power and influence and we also know the humiliation and disgrace they may bring upon the Church; they are a liability rather than an asset, especially when united."

EDITORIALS.

Another important feature of work has been the editing of a section in the Columbiad, which, with its circulation of over a third of a million, gave us the very best opportunity to get our viewpoints and recommendations before the membership and their friends. Leading articles have been carried nearly every month since the beginning of our work setting out the scope, character and aim of the anti-Catholic campaign, exposing the motives behind it, analyzing the spirit which gives it impetus and treating at length of some of the difficulties to be met in its abatement. Special attention is called to the articles, "Our Paramount Object," "Concerning Religious Prejudice," "Analysis of Religious Prejudices," "The Anti-Papal Panic," "The Spirit of Peace," "Catholic Citizenship," "Rome and Republics."

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that these articles have been liberally reproduced in other papers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, daily and periodical, and they have elicited favorable editorial comment almost universally.

In addition, we have carried a department which is now familiar to our membership under the name "Side Lights" in which matters appearing in other publications and having connection with our work were reproduced with appropriate criticism, comment or suggestions.

Another division, under the caption "At the Chairman's Desk," carried suggestive correspondence from the Louisville office, a most interesting instance being that between the Chairman and a Court of Guardians of Liberty, under the title "Catholics and Patriotism."

The object has been to set out our manner and methods as well as our ideals and view points for the benefit of our membership, as so many of these same matters may be confronting them; furthermore, many Councils have Catholic Truth Committees that would like this information, and we have spared neither labor nor pains to make this part of our work as attractive and useful as possible.

SURVEY.

Perhaps the most far reaching single work undertaken by the Commission was that of making a survey of the entire organization of Knights of Columbus, to learn, in the fullest

degree, the activities, plans and projects proposed or being carried out by our 1800 Councils for the improvement of their members and the betterment of conditions in their respective communities, both of which will go far in the way of producing more friendly relations between Catholics and non-Catholics.

To begin this work, which no doubt will require many months for completion, a letter containing thirty-seven questions was addressed to each Council throughout the country, with the urgent request that same should be read at Council meetings and answered in full detail. The body of this letter and the questions asked, as set out below, will show the broad scope and searching character of this survey, to the results of which the Commission are looking forward with great expectation.

"It is our purpose to make a survey of our entire Order, to gather together statistics for the different jurisdictions, of all the activities which have engaged your Council.

"This survey of the activities of Councils will be summarized for the purpose of outlining and recommending a program, furnishing a gauge and incentive to inaugurate plans that will create greater enthusiasm in the Order, produce greater achievement and tend to raise the standard of intellectuality and efficiency of our members.

"Nothing will dispel prejudice like education and by developing greater interest in the subjects of controversy and becoming more enlightened on the problems which confront the citizens of this country, we can distinguish ourselves in a way that will command universal respect and which will redound in the end to our very great advantage.

"To bring our work to a satisfactory conclusion, it is necessary to outline Recommendations, which, in our opinion, if carried out, will make our country a better place in which to live."

(THE QUESTIONS)

1. Does your Council have annual retreats for members?
2. Do the members receive Holy Communion in a body? If so, how often?
3. Have you had lectures to your members on Christian doctrine or other religious subjects?
4. How many Council meetings do you hold per month and what is the average attendance?
5. What portion of your time is used in the regular order of business?

6. Do you have a Lecturer's Session, conducted by the Council Lecturer at every meeting? If not, how often?
7. Does program consist of an Address, reading of a paper, or general discussion?
8. Has your Lecturer provided you with addresses by speakers who are not members of the Order, and on what subjects?
9. IMPORTANT: When the program includes an Address, is there much discussion afterwards, and by how many members?
10. Have you done anything toward training your members in public speaking?
11. Have you had debates among your own members? How many times and on what subjects?
12. Have you had any illustrated lectures of travel or educational subjects, using slides or Bauchoscope?
13. Place a check mark through the following subjects, if you have had addresses, papers or discussions upon them this year. Peace, Preparedness, Patriotism, Popular Government, Temperance, Workmen's Compensation, Mother's Pensions, Industrial Relations, Minimum Wage, Distribution of Wealth, Civic Morality, Recreation and Playgrounds, The Boy Question.
14. Is there any systematic educational plan by your Council in behalf of its membership?
15. Does your Council possess the Catholic Encyclopedia?
16. Have you supplied Catholic literature to public libraries?
17. Have you had Catholic books catalogued in public libraries for reference of Catholic readers?
18. Is there a Catholic Truth Committee in your Council for the distribution of literature?
19. Are any members of your Council connected with Chautauquas? If so, give full name and address.
20. Give names and address of members connected with either editorial or reporters staff of newspapers.
21. Does the Council take part in celebrations of Lincoln's or Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, Flag Day, Fourth of July, Columbus Day, or other patriotic occasions, and to what extent?
22. What did you do last year to celebrate in a fitting manner Columbus Day to justify its being made a public holiday?
23. Have you presented Flags to Parochial Schools?
24. Have you taken a leading part in the Americanization of the Foreigner?

25. Have you offered any prizes to Public or Parochial Schools?

26. Do you take active part in civic movements for the betterment of public morals and to what extent?

27. Have you made a survey of your city to ascertain what the actual conditions are?

28. What have you done in organizing Boys' clubs? Girls' clubs?

29. What have you done in Social Service, which means a thousand things for the betterment of the human race?

30. Have you endeavored to have public and parochial schools used for social or recreation centers?

31. In what manner and just where did you distribute "A Message?"

32. Have you observed any results from the distribution of the "Report" to the twenty-five prominent non-Catholics in your Community?

33. Has there been any political effort, by anybody, to get your support for any candidate, or any measure? If so, give particulars.

34. Did you have any lectures provided by the State Council and were they public, or in your own hall, and what subjects?

35. In what particular activity is your Council at present engaged?

36. Advise what was the most interesting meeting that you have had since January 1st?

37. What do you suggest to secure the greatest Council activity?

III. MEETINGS.

There have been five meetings of the Commission since their first report, (1) Chicago, November, 1915; (2) Washington, January, 1916; (3) New York, April, 1916; (4) Detroit, June, 1916, and (5) Chicago, July, 1916.

(1)

Among the matters considered at the Chicago meeting we mention the following:

The "Appeal" to the people of Buffalo, made during the summer of 1915 by one hundred of the leading Catholic and non-Catholic citizens of the city, for more sympathetic relations in all civic affairs, the plan of which was fully outlined in Brother J. E. Mulroy's article, "A Plan for Peace," in the February, 1916, Columbiad. The action of the Buffalo citizens and the circumstances leading up to it were given to the Commission in more detail than was permissible in the article mentioned. It was the opinion of the Commission, in view of all the information given them, that while the plan was largely successful, marking a long step in advance for the city of Buffalo and setting a worthy example to the nation, it was not a complete success and the main reason was the action of professional politicians, Catholics as well as non-Catholics, who, in spite of the plea of their disinterested fellow citizens, undertook in the Fall election to incite their respective sympathizers to vote according to a "preferred" list.

The criticisms from various sources expressed in regard to the Fifty-Thousand-Dollar Fund orginally appropriated for the use of the Commission, were also considered; but the Commission agreed, that inasmuch as their critics had no interest in this fund, and that our Brother Knights, the only parties in interest, had made no criticism in the matter, and in view of the published report of the Supreme Treasurer showing the amount expended by the Commission in its labors (about one-seventh of the appropriation, by the way), it was not necessary to reply to the unwarranted strictures made.

We cannot refrain, however, from expressing regret, that this is an instance of many coming to our knowledge where some well-meaning papers seem totally ignorant of the fact that they are furnishing ammunition to the professional anti-Catholic. As long as this rash practice is continued, and propagandists can quote our own papers in support of their suspicions and as excuse for their harangues, we can hardly hope for a termination of the strife being engendered.

The attitude of our Catholic people on the subject of Prohibition and Temperance in those sections of the country where these are matters of great interest, was also taken up at this meeting. It was concluded, that while in the matter of Temperance there is common ground upon which all Catholics are required to stand if they would be in accord with the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, which admonish the Catholics of America to sever their connections with the liquor traffic as speedily as possible, in the matter of Prohibi-

tion, which is largely a political question, there is such a reasonable difference of opinion among our people, that any onesided statement on this subject would be a source of dissension rather than a means of harmony and peace.

(2)

One of the most interesting matters at the Washington meeting was Chairman Callahan's report of having called, in December, on General Nelson A. Miles and of having met there, Admiral Baird, with the object of learning if there was not some common ground on which all good and patriotic citizens could get together and eliminate the strife and enmities that do not belong to this enlightened age.

While there was nothing at all unpleasant connected with the interview, no charges of any kind being made against our Religion or our Church, we cannot consider that there was any headway made in agreeing upon a constructive policy to accomplish the aims we all have in mind for the welfare of our country.

It can be said, however, that the interview terminated in such a way that if there was any possibility of good citizens agreeing on a plan that will lead to a closer relationship, to stand as a single body for the best of patriotic citizenship, we are in a position to have another conference.

At this Commission meeting Brother Mulroy, of Buffalo, reported a very illuminating interview with Bishop Burt, the moving spirit of the secret organizations existing and being formed to carry on the anti-Catholic campaign. We cannot do better in the way of showing the un-American, intolerant, radical attitude of the man, and of the organizations he leads, than to quote his answer to a question about what he proposed in regard to the Church.

"Wipe it out root and branch. It is only a political machine looking for power and aggrandizement. It is not religious. It is seeking nothing but temporal power.

"You know that Chairman Callahan had an interview with General Miles do you?"

"Yes I know all about it; the Guardians of Liberty wrote me for my advice on it and I assured them there was nothing to it. There can be on compromise; the clash is inevitable.

This is a fight to the finish, and I have so advised the Guardians."

How can we deal with such a man?

At this meeting also, Father P. J. O'Callaghan, C. S. P., president of the Catholic Temperance Union of America, gave the Commission three invaluable suggestions which we here reproduce:

"First, the Church's past is great and glorious; we may view it with pride, may dwell upon it with pride; but we cannot stand upon it. We cannot stand on the past of any living thing; if the Church were dead we might glory only in its past; but the Church is living, thriving, flourishing; and if it would triumph, it must be through its capacity now to meet and solve and conquer, the needs and dispositions of society.

"Second, the Knights of Columbus have broken up the smaller organizations; they have made organizations along other lines difficult and impractical; they should meet the responsibilities they have thus assumed,—otherwise they will not justify their existence and had better dissolve.

"Third, the present generation being removed from the past glories of the Church and having had no part in their creation, if they would be true Catholics, truly exhibiting the worth of the Church as a living organization, adequate to all the responsibilities of the time, as she verily is, they should in this age, to-day and now, try to shed glory upon her by their achievement in a field that is wider and more promising than ever before."

Father O'Callaghan was delighted to hear of our Recommendation Number Three, contained in the Seattle Report, urging our members to take an active and prominent part in all movements for the furtherance of social justice, public morals and civic righteousness, saying, however, that it was his hope that in these matters Catholics would not be led into a position that would be offensive to "the American sense of decency."

(3)

The New York meeting was of unusual interest and profit on account of the divers opinions expressed by those invited to give the Commission the benefit of their views and experience. In the great metropolis there is no limit to the information and good counsel to be had in the investigation of conditions over the country or the cause of conditions that are nation wide, as is religious prejudice.

Attention was given at this meeting to the disturbances in Chicago, Illinois, and Haverhill, Massachusetts, in connection with anti-Catholic speakers. It could not be definitely ascertained whether Catholics were responsible for starting these acts of violence or whether they had been incited by the speakers themselves in order to attract attention that would "make copy," and thus secure publicity which such professional propagandists cannot otherwise get. Several instances were cited where Catholics to a man abstained from attending these lectures, and notwithstanding, there was "a riot" deliberately planned by the speaker of the occasion for this purpose. It has been stated, however, that a certain element of Catholics participated in these affairs after they began. The Commission, therefore, felt impelled to condemn such lawless and riotous acts as impossible of justification, however begun. "Our attitude now, as in the past," it was declared, "is opposed to such violence on any account; we condemn it as contrary to good morals, good citizenship and good sense; we urge our people to use all their influence to prevent or stop such acts and try to discover their instigators, and their connection with the speaker who is disturbed."

The Commission felt this matter to be of such importance that the Chairman was instructed to prepare a letter to all the State Councils to be read to all their delegates at their Annual meeting in May, and this was done, the letter being as follows:

"We are very glad to report that there seems to be a diminishing of prejudice and we urge the members of the Order through the Grand Knights to continue to maintain a peaceful and dignified attitude, regardless of the great temptation to do otherwise.

"We have always had an abiding faith in the fair-mindedness and liberality of the American people as a whole, and they are allied with us for the elimination of those forces which are un-American and interfering with the peace and progress of our country.

"Interference with free speech and free press gives advertisement and at times undeserved sympathy to anti-Catholic agitators and we cannot urge too strongly that our plan of non-interference be continued if we are to make friends and eliminate prejudice against us."

The matter of newspaper publicity for Catholic activities was taken up with several newspaper men at the meeting who

gave out many valuable hints and suggestions. It was the conclusion of the Commission that Catholics themselves are largely at fault in this matter, because they do not in proper time request their local managing editors, who arrange their space days in advance, for the space they may use, so that it can be set aside for their program, and also, because they do not prepare advance copy, making it sufficiently attractive and of news value to entitle it to space; and finally, because, when the above steps have been taken, they do not make complaint to the proper managers upon failure of the papers to publish the matter given to them.

One of the most interesting interviews at this meeting was with a much travelled writer and lecturer, a non-Catholic, who expressed the opinion that religious prejudice is clearly diminishing, and would quickly disappear except for politics and politicians. In his judgment the recommendations we adopted in the very beginning of our work about each side teaching its own people to be fair and temperate in their view of the other's religion, were the nearest to a solution of the problem.

The other features of this meeting were the reports on the Scott lecture tours, the Chautauqua conferences, the distribution of "A Message," the results of the Chairman's trip through the Southeast and that of the Vice-Chairman through the Northwest, all of which are set out elsewhere.

IV. CONDITIONS.

RETROSPECT.

Religious prejudices have come down to us through many generations, from centuries of enmity and strife when Catholics and Protestants took turns persecuting one another and together persecuted the Jew. As an individual sentiment or impulse, more or less prejudice is bound up in human nature, although dogmatic or doctrinal prejudices have diminished with each generation, and our steady development of civilization brings us closer to the fundamental which gave the idea of the Commission, "Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself," bearing well in mind the definition of our Lord Himself as to "Who is My Neighbor."

Having very carefully studied conditions as existing in our country for over a hundred years, we have concluded that

the prejudices of our day are due not so much to the inherited differences of religious views as to conditions and circumstances in our country, whose democratic form of government has given rise to any number of popular movements, beginning at its formation and to this day, which create intense enthusiasm on the part of their zealous advocates. Societies and associations by the score have been formed and developed, either to forward such ideals and opinions or for so-called social, intellectual or fraternal purposes, all of which has been the cause of interesting our citizens in matters that to many seem non-essential in their fundamentals, but they have succeeded in grouping and putting into classes our citizenship and thereby creating lines of demarcation which are maintained in matters foreign to their existence.

It is this social phase of prejudice as distinguished from the individual feeling that has chiefly concerned the Commission; for when organized by Catholics and non-Catholics and carried into politics, business and society, affecting moral and civic questions, trade and industrial conditions, commercial, social and intellectual activities; in fine, with its roots and branches burying and extending themselves into all the affairs of life and proving the greatest detriment to the progress and advancement of the country,—it is a social force, of periodic growth and development, one which under the laws and institutions of this country and with the temper and spirit of our people ought not to exist, and which we must use all our moral and material resources, joining with citizens of all other religions to remove, if we are to pursue the great ideals of liberty of belief and worship.

We are now in the midst of the fifth of these periodic waves arising in the United States. The first came soon after the formation of the Republic and, notwithstanding our constitutional guaranty of religious liberty, culminated in laws discriminating against Catholics, being passed in most of the original States. The main causes of this movement are traceable to the French Revolution, which resulted in so many Catholics seeking refuge in America that alarm for the security of our institutions was manifested and, strangely, the cherished institution of religious liberty was all but abolished.

The second wave came in the wake of the Anti-Masonic movement growing out of the "Morgan affair." It resulted

in the destruction of churches, schools, convents and residences of priests, in some cities there were frequent murders and assassinations; rioters actually pitched an engagement in a few places. This excitement and attendant lawlessness continued, intermittently breaking out in violence, until the Mexican war. Some of the causes for it were the participation of Catholics in the Anti-Masonic movement, which was a bitter agitation; the repeal, during that movement, of most of the laws discriminating against Catholics, which was loudly resented; the division of sentiment over affairs in Mexico; the opposition of the clergy to Horace Mann's proposed plan of education; the appointment of a Catholic as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; retaliations and reprisals.

The Know-Nothing movement of the '50's arose from a scare at the Catholic immigration due to the European revolution, the Irish Famine and the discovery of gold in California. At the outset it was perhaps as much pro-American as Anti-Catholic, but the baser sentiment soon dominated both its spirit and its temper. The issue was clearly outlined, the challenge boldly flung out,—"America for Americans," "No Irish Immigrants," "No Romanists in Office," "Down with the Catholics," "To hell with the Pope,"—and the veterans of the conflict of the '30's, with new forces, but with the old spirit of hate, lined up for another fray. The recollection of the times that followed is fresh in the minds of many yet living; the records of Congress, the archives of legislatures, ordinances of cities combine to show the havoc played with religious liberty; the reports of political campaigns and elections is a chronicle of lawless deeds, of threats and intimidations at the polls, fraud and corruption in the courts, and then culminating in riots and an occasional "Bloody Monday." A feature of this movement that was new was the wide-spread secret organization after which it is called, destined to become a permanent feature of such movements, and to taint other secret societies with something of its purpose.

The civil war put an end to Know-Nothingism, but it was not long after that before the elements with which it had tainted other secret societies began to work. The old Know-Nothings were not able to carry with them the societies among which they had scattered, but by being in them they were able to deceive the uninitiated as to their strength and respectability, and three successive Presidents were induced to give them countenance while the two great political parties

adopted principles at their demand. Matters rested here a bit. With the Pope deprived of temporal power the people were not so easily scared. Then came the Encyclical condemning Socalists, Communists and Nihilists. At the time Socialism was popularly regarded here as merely a radical party, differing but little from Populism, Suffragism, Georgeism and the like, and all of these were led to take offense at Rome. Next occurred the "McGlynn affair," which was artfully construed into a condemnation of all movements for reform and a Papal infringement on American free speech. So adriotly were these groups united by the leaders of the agitation that when the famous Blair Amendment, intended to insult Catholics and at the same time to "feel out" the Congress and the country, came up for passage, it easily won a majority though failing of the required three-fifths. Then the campaign was launched and the A. P. A. movement began in earnest. The old methods,—secret organization, political assassination, boycott, vilification, slander, scandalmonging, were revived and feeling waxed strong for a time, spreading over the entire country, causing deep bitterness, great excitement and much destruction of property, though not so much bloodshed as in former times. The panic of '93 crippled the cause, but, it limped along until the Spanish-American war, and then collapsed.

The present movement began to develop in 1908. That year was the centenary of the erection of the diocese of Baltimore into a Metropolitan See. In recognition of the growth of Catholicity in this country during the century, North America was advanced by the Pope from the status of a Mission Country to that of a Province, and transferred from the jurisdiction of the Propaganda to that of the Holy See.

In November, 1908, the first American Catholic Missionary Congress met at Chicago, and there was assembled the largest body of prelates, priests and laymen that ever was brought together in the New World. Before this meeting had adjourned, the New York Synod of a Protestant denomination addressed an open and labored letter to the President of the United States, which in brief asserted that the Catholic Church is a "menace to American institutions." On the following day, the Ministerial Union of another denomination in Philadelphia adopted resolutions embodying the same sentiment.

In the next few years practically every Assembly, Association, Union, League and Conference of Protestant Ministers, throughout the Nation, passed similar resolutions. Next, the Catholic Eucharistic Congress of the World met in Montreal, and another precedent in Catholic assemblies was made. Then the second Missionary Congress met. In the meantime Cardinal Gibbons celebrated his Jubilee; two more Cardinals were created for America, and more resolutions were passed by apprehensive Protestants.

In all this the shrewd professional agitator saw a great harvest field. A well financed, capably edited Anti-Catholic paper was begun, by an old-timer at this game. A cleverly planned secret society was formed, under paid patronage. When the pre-election campaign of 1912 opened, the Anti-Catholics had a well organized movement under way; two score of professional propagandists of the "ex-priest" and "ex-nun" type were sent into the field; more secret societies were formed; more papers were started; headquarters were opened in larger cities; tons of literature were distributed; statistics were gathered of Catholics in office, of priests and parishes and Catholic institutions; their crimes, their sins, their blunders, for a quarter century past, were systematically exposed with exaggeration and embellishment; and where no real offense could be found, many were invented to serve the occasion.

Such are the antecedents and such the character of the movement that brought forth this Commission with its purpose if possible to prevent the peace of our country from being destroyed by these professional hate breeders, who pretend to be Protestants only to take advantage of the predilections of Protestants and use their influence, to extend the movement as wide, make the feeling as bitter, and keep it up as long as they possibly can.

ANTI-CATHOLIC SOCIETIES.

It is hard to learn the number or the size of these secret bodies, but their activity and growth are apparent. Known variously in different sections as the "APA," "TA," "Great Secret," "No Name" Society, as "Guardians of Liberty," "Knights of Luther," "Covenanters," "Independents," "Units," "Ps," they seem to be organized in most of the larger cities and to have headquarters or clearing centers in practically

every State. They are all animated by a common spirit, have substantially the same principles and are working for a like purpose, regardless of name. The names and number of their members and officers, the location of their offices and meeting places, are jealously guarded. Their address is usually a "Box." They require "Protestant references" of correspondents, but sign their own communications with a number. These rules, of course, are suspended where publicity is desired.

Whether or not these societies have a common head we cannot say; but they seem to have a common spokesman in Bishop Burt, of Buffalo, and a common organ in "The Menace." The National Federation of Patriotic societies is the rallying ground for some of them; but evidently not all as only about seventy delegates attended its general convention last year and there are nearly that many units in some of the most populous States.

These societies make dates for the Anti speakers, drum up subscriptions for the Anti papers, sell Anti literature, propose Anti legislation, conduct campaigns against all candidates for office who are not in sympathy with their objects and organizing boycotts to prevent influential men from opposing or criticising their aims or methods. They honeycomb other societies and organizations, that are not Anti-Catholic with their membership, and thus some of our most respectable bodies become tainted in spots; witness a plank lately incorporated in the platform of the Prohibition Party in Florida, which reads, "No one shall be qualified to hold office who owes allegiance to any foreign sovereign, potentate or ecclesiastic, or who admits the right, either human or divine of such a one to control his action."

Office holders, legislators, candidates, political managements are often influenced in the same way; many a one who hates bigotry in his heart, yields to the demands of the Antis through a fear of the great numbers of them, which are indicated by the many organizations to which those approaching him belong, and which they, to all appearances without concert, represent to him, to be secretly furthering their plans. Catholics themselves are often in this way led to believe that certain societies and organizations are Anti-Catholic when they are not; this works exactly to suit the Antis, who cultivate injustice, suspicion, jealousy, envy, fear

and hate in all their forms, as making for greater excitement and more enduring dissension and strife.

ANTI-CATHOLIC PAPERS.

The number of these papers has diminished surprisingly since our first report. Most of those formerly mentioned have either quit the field or changed their policy so as no longer to come under this class and only two or three having any circulation worth mentioning remain. One of these was reported last year as having 1,500,000 circulation; our latest advices show a decrease of considerably more than half and it is doubtful if its actual subscribers now number 500,000.

In view of the approaching elections, however, there may be a number of these papers reappear and new ones may spring up, or the circulation of those now issuing may become larger, because politics and prejudice are sometimes very congenial companions.

Our Protestant friends should all know that the purpose of these papers and the motives and practices of their editors and contributing writers are really Anti-Protestant as well as Anti-Catholic; they are engaged in this business solely for profit and contributions; they profess no religion and they are closely allied with those groups that are antagonistic to all religions and especially to Christianity; we have heard from any number of Protestants most zealous in their belief who have condemned these publications in most vigorous terms.

In this connection we must again refer to the bills mentioned in our first report that look to the elimination of these and similar papers from the mails and which, somewhat changed, were reintroduced in the late Congress.

While we do not agree with the widely expressed belief that such measures, intended as they are to purge the mails of indecent matter and keep down causes of dissension and strife among the people, in any way impair the freedom of the press, and while we deplore having to help pay for the circulation of wholesale libels and scandalous inventions that outrage Catholics as a class, it nevertheless seems, in the present state of public opinion, that such proposed legislation tends to excite more prejudice and suspicion against us than do the matters they aim to correct.

Besides, the Knights of Columbus as a body, and the Catholic people as a whole, are not in need of any legislation that other people do not equally need, and which others than ourselves will be prompted to ask for in good time. Moreover, we still hold the belief that existing laws give to the postal authorities all the power that is necessary or expedient in the premises.

ANTI-CATHOLIC SPEAKERS.

The diminution among anti-Catholic speakers has not been so marked as that among anti-Catholic papers; but except in one or two instances where they have succeeded in stirring up riotous excitement they are attracting very much less attention now than a year ago.

One reason for this is that the public at large have learned of the unenviable character of these speakers and their speeches, and of the mercenary motives which actuate them in their peace-disturbing propaganda and, consequently, they are often unable to secure an audience, or even a place to speak.

Public officials generally have come to refuse the use of public halls, and Protestant ministers and non-Catholic societies their churches and lodge rooms, for the utterance of the kind of speech such characters usually make. The following instances have been noted where this practice has been followed:

(An anti-Catholic paper published these facts by way of complaint.)

General Nelson A. Miles, Hon. Chas. D. Haynes and Rev. Dr. Burnett were denied a theater in St. Louis when the managers learned the kind of propaganda they were promoting.

The leading business organization of Dayton, Ohio, declined to entertain the National Convention of Patriotic Societies upon being informed of their objects.

In Rochester, N. Y., three different managements on being advised of the character of speeches to be delivered denied their theaters for "Patriotic" lectures.

In Jacksonville, Fla., the "Patriots" engaged the Morocco Temple (Shriners), but same was refused when the trustees learned the character of the speech to be delivered.

In Germantown, Pa., the Odd Fellows hired a hall to one of these professional propagandists, but on being advised of the character of the lecture they cancelled the engagement.

In Camden, N. J., a hall engaged by one of these speakers was closed when the trustees learned the kind of speech to be delivered.

In Moorestown, N. J., the Odd Fellows promised their hall to one of these speakers; but on learning his purpose they closed the hall.

The G. A. R. hall in Westchester, Pa., was engaged for a similar purpose; but on the trustees being advised the hall was closed.

In Atlantic City, N. J., the Masons agreed that one of these professionals should speak in their hall; but on being advised they too, closed the hall.

In Trenton, N. J., the Masonic Association engaged a hall to such a speaker, but closed their doors upon learning the kind of speech that was to be made.

In Wilmington, Del., The Knights of Pythias hall was hired by one of these speakers, and a crowd gathered, only to find the doors locked because the trustees had been advised of the kind of speeches to be made.

In Binghamton, N. Y., the Odd Fellows hall was engaged by one of these speakers who later announced his subject to be "Catholics and the Confessional," whereupon the engagement was cancelled by the Odd Fellows' trustees.

The above is ample proof, if we were not already convinced, that we should have an abiding faith in the liberality and fair-mindedness of the American people, for we had the same spirit of co-operation against this common enemy of our country in the arrangements for all our own public lectures calculated to carry Peace, Harmony and Patriotism throughout the land, in strong contrast to a campaign of hate and enmity based mostly on malice and falsehood.

While several of the speakers formerly engaged in this work have given it up in discouragement, others, not to be outdone, have undertaken to offset these conditions by getting their sympathizers to stir up some kind of trouble in order to bring notoriety to the speaker.

As illustrating this tactic we relate an instance occurring in a Georgia city where one of these speakers was billed to lecture seven nights. For three nights there was no excitement and the audiences grew thinner and thinner. Then a sensational letter, signed, "A Catholic Lady," appeared in a local paper. It told about the slanders of Catholic womanhood that were being uttered in their midst, and closed with a dramatic appeal to Catholic men, "in the name of Southern chivalry," to resent these vile attacks on pure women.

This might have produced the desired effect had not cool counsel advised investigation, when lo! it was discovered that the letter had been written at the instigation of the speaker himself. Which goes to show that Catholics are simply playing into the hands of these unscrupulous propagandists when they allow themselves on any account to be provoked by their utterances.

RAILROADS.

The distress and discouragement coming from Religious Prejudice among workmen in organized industry is particularly acute in the railroad service and especially railroad shops. We have sometimes referred to them as breeding places for religious strife and enmity, due fundamentally to personal preference instead of merit having at times too much to do with advancement and promotion and the distribution and disposal of the work. This, added to the natural struggle for survival in all industry and bringing into shop life and daily work the fraternal spirit of lodges, societies and religions results in frequent abuses of merit and great lack of harmony.

It is said by Union Labor officials that this unfriendly condition is not only countenanced but encouraged by Shop Superintendents to keep the men divided and prevent them from maintaining a solid front in time of labor difficulties; but be this as it may, we know from our own investigations that there is more religious strife among Railroad employees and especially shop men than in any other industry.

Time and again our attention has been called to the use of railroad property in the spread of anti-Catholic propaganda. It is not an uncommon thing, especially near division points and in the shops, to find railroad employees actively engaged in distributing anti-Catholic literature and in promoting anti-Catholic meetings and organzations. Railroad stations, water tanks, bridges and yards are frequently defaced with flaming placards which advertise anti-Catholic papers and speakers. Such glaring notices as "Read the Menace," "Get the Dope," "Down with the Priests," "To hell with the Pope," are carried across the country and literally thrust upon the public, by means of posters and writings on freight cars, oil tanks and like rolling property.

The attention of the railroad officials has been repeatedly called to these practices and to some extent they have been discontinued, but there is still a pernicious lot of activity along these lines. The natural result of the conditions thus created is a division among the men in the railroad service into Catholic and anti-Catholic groups; disorimination on the part of foremen and superintendents comes next, and retaliation follows. Thus is destroyed that unity among the workingmen which enables them to work together for their common interests, a result which working men when wise to the situation will anticipate, by ignoring religious differences and scowling down the agitator who stirs up religious strife, by whatever means.

In this connection we should remark the fact that almost invariably the disturbances that sometimes attend an anti-Catholic meeting occur in localities where on account of shops, factories, mills or mines there is a large aggregation of laboring people. Apart from the reasons above suggested, such a population offers a most inviting field to an inflammatory propagandist of the anti-Catholic type. It is quickly assembled and easily excited; it is accustomed to being harangued and readily lends ear to an assault of words; it has been denied opportunities for education and impatiently bears the yoke of ignorance; it is suspicious of the old and the great and welcomes every utterance that seems to confirm its unvoiced sentiments against them.

Deprived of elevating influences, surrounded by crass ideals, hard-working, impecunious, these people nevertheless have vim and blood and generous human impulses, and with

these aroused by the perfervid eloquence of a professional agitator, what wonder that there is an outburst? That failing the desired climax, there are means of interesting the local hoodlum element which, for a consideration, stirs up the trouble that cannot otherwise be provoked. It seldom occurs to the victims of this ancient trick to inquire who is back of it all.

Thus, in many ways, is explained the striking zeal with which the anti-Catholic propagandists seek out railroad work shops and other centers of the working population, and the ready facility with which they can excite their picked audience to some act which if not in itself lawless may provoke lawless retaliation. It was to aid in preventing such tactics, in the opinion of eminent lawyers, that section 211 of the Penal Code defines *indecent* matter to be "any matter of a character tending to incite" certain crimes, and such also has been held to be one of the aims of the law of slander and libel.

THE LAW OF LIBEL.

In our first report we pointed out the inadequacy of the statutory definitions of libel, which do not declare libelous an injurious false statement concerning societies, organizations or other collective bodies unless some particular person is pointed out. Thus the most outrageous calumny can be uttered with impunity against Priests in general, Sisters as a class, Knights of Columbus as a body, so long as no certain person is indicated and this the professional scandalmongers take particular pains to avoid.

This defect in the law does not lay its entire burden on Catholics, although they are the most common sufferers and practically the only one in these immediate times. Jews have been victims in recent years, notably in the "Ritual murder" calumny, an echo of which was heard in the celebrated "Frank Case." Mormons once suffered through this same inability to bring to justice the perpetrators of wholesale libel and slander. Before that Masons were brought to bay by public opinion; accused as a body, they could not appeal to the law and nearly half the country actually voted them guilty without a trial. Political parties, fraternal societies, business groups, trade unions, even social classes have been victimized through malicious invention of scandal for which they could not obtain redress under this defective law.

The history of the notorious "fake oath" falsely imputed to the Fourth Degree of our Order, strikingly illustrates the inadequacy of the law in this matter. This "oath," which is a revamp of similar frauds that from time to time for two hundred years have been circulated by the bigots as the "oaths" of various Catholic societies, began to be circulated anew shortly before the elections of 1912, this time being attributed to the Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus. It is judicially, historically and by intelligent public opinion known to be the concoction of a base imagination fired with hatred and malice, and since its reappearance has been condemned by leading non-Catholics all over the country as a fake and a scurrilous and wicked libel:

First, October 31, 1912, by H. C. Henry, President Metropolitan Bank, J. D. Lowman, President Chamber of Commerce, J. E. Chilburg, Vice President Scandinavian-American Bank, all non-Catholics, of Seattle, Washington; again, February 15, 1913, by the Congressional Election Committee in the contest of E. C. Boniwell v. T. C. Butler; again, October 9, 1914, by Motley Hewes Flint and Wm. Rhodes Hervey, both 33rd Degree Masons, with David Reid Weller and Samuel E. Burk of the 32nd Degree, all Past Grand Masters of California; again, October 17, 1914, by forty-five prominent non-Catholic citizens of Indianapolis, Ind.; again, October 17, 1915, by ten Protestant citizens of Little Rock, Ark., including an ex-mayor and an ex-congressman and the most prominent jurists of the Southwest; again, October 25, 1915, by four leading Protestant citizens of Renfrew, Ontario.

At all of these points the fake "oath" had been energetically distributed but in none had it been charged that any particular person had actually sworn to this "oath," therefore, under the general interpretation of the libel law there could be no prosecution. In a few cases, however, where it has been distributed, it has been imputed directly to some particular member of our Fourth Degree and in those cases prosecution and conviction have promptly followed. February 18, 1913, in St. John's, Newfoundland. Chas. A. Swift pleaded guilty to a charge of criminal libel for alleging that certain of our Brothers had subscribed to this "oath." January 30, 1914, Chas. A. Mengonegal in the Quarterly Sessions Court of Philadelphia, Pa., pleaded guilty to same charge. July 29, 1914, A. M. Morrison and G. E. Morrison in Waterville, Minn.,

were convicted on the same charge. These are the only instances of which we are aware where a certain person has been designated as subscribing to this "oath."

However, two convictions of criminal libel for publishing this fake have been had where no particular persons were designated, one in Oklahoma and one in California. In the Oklahoma case (State v. Roy Crane), the court, in pronouncing sentence on the verdict of the jury said:

"The law against criminal libel is to prevent men from characterizing those who differ from them as criminals, as advocating crime, upholding crime, teaching crime, practicing crime; and the reason is that such accusations have a tendency to create discord in society, the object of the law being to protect each man and all men in the right to have freedom of belief as they see fit.

"To live together in the same community in the same society under the same laws with the same protection, it is not good that the members of one sect shall assault and attack another. The intent of the law is that publications calculated to create strife and discord, to make feuds in communities—shall not be permitted."

In the California case (People v. H. S. Turner), the Court of Appeals (First Division), in affirming the judgment of conviction appealed from by defendant, said:

"Defendant contends that the alleged libelous matter applies to a class, or generally to all of the members of the Fourth Degree in the Order mentioned, and therefore has no individual application, and that for these reasons the judgment of conviction cannot stand.

"It is undisputed that the publication was false, that the prosecuting witnesses were members of the society of the degree in question, and the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the article is that every member of the Fourth Degree of the Order had taken and subscribed to the published oath.

"The article asperses the character of such members and ascribes to them base and dishonest motives, and as to them its publication constituted criminal libel. The points presented by defendant might be urged with some force in a civil action in mitigation of damages, but we do not believe they are good in a criminal prosecution for libel.

"As is said in the case of State v. Brady, 24 Pac. Rep., 948-9; 'the law is elementary that the libel need not be on a particular person but may be upon a family or a class of persons if the tendency of the publication is to stir up riot and disorder and incite to a breach of the peace. It is obvious that a libelous attack upon a body of men, though no individual may be pointed out, may tend as much or more to create a public disturbance as an attack on one individual and indeed, it has been suggested whether the fact of numbers does not add to the enormity of the act.'

"This statement is a correct exposition of the law and of the causes of its existence."

These opinions are so strictly in accord with the common conscience, which holds peace and good order in society as its chief good, that we believe every proper effort should be made to secure a like interpretation of the law of libel in every State. The statutory definitions of libel in the other States are substantially the same as in Oklahoma and California, and it would seem that the reason for and the intent of the law also, are substantially the same; so, therefore, should be its interpretation.

THE PRESS.

The General Press shows a growing appreciation for the activities of Catholic bodies and Catholic societies; and the complaints, formerly so frequent, that we are not given satisfactory notice of the doings of Catholic organizations are not near so common. We account for this in two ways: First, Catholics are showing more concern in matters generally recognized to be of public interest, which is the chief element in "news;" second, we are giving more consideration to the necessity of co-operating with the newspaper men in a practical way, so that their best interests will be served at the same time that they are giving us service. These are both highly commendable and both are imperatively necessary to secure the attention and publicity that are desired.

The Periodical Press continues in a large way to be flooded with war "stories" and other articles bearing on the war, which operates against the publication of matters of lesser interest. On this account, the recommendation of our former Report that Catholics who are qualified prepare articles for the periodical press as a means of reaching the more intelligent classes, obviously could not as yet be followed up.

The Catholic press as a whole is a noble institution; that it well deserves the praise bestowed upon it by Pius X, is not open to question; that many editors and writers are devoting their talents to it at great sacrifices is well known; and that it ought to receive more hearty support from our members and from all Catholics is so evident that our first report set out a special recommendation to this effect. There are papers however, which claim to be and are generally regarded as being Catholic that are edited entirely for profit and are not truly representative of Catholic teaching, Catholic sentiment or Catholic aims. Among these are some whose existence we can only deplore. They serve private interests and they become identified with political and business schemes to the exclusion of higher aims, because such connections are profitable, not only in producing more subscriptions and advertising, but also, in the way commonly known as graft.

Under the head of graft, the so-called Catholic News Bulletin, published at Washington by the so-called Catholic News Agency is deserving of first place. The man conducting this "Agency" has been denounced repeatedly by Catholics, both cleric and lay; he has been tried and expelled from the Knights of Columbus; still he assumes to represent the Catholic people, and trades under this false pretense with such gullible patrons as he can find. His paper is in no sense a Catholic paper; on the contrary, both its purpose and its policy are inimical to the interests and the teaching of the Church and of her people.

POLITICS.

In view of the approaching elections, the Commission feel that this subject should be treated very frankly. No doubt, as in many former years, this year will witness energetic efforts on the part of professional politicians in certain sections to turn elections on religious questions. The Catholic people will be tempted to meet this issue in the way it is presented and the prejudice of both sides will be voted at the polls. No good to the country or to our cause can result from such a contest and Knights of Columbus as a body are wisely forbidden to enter it by the fundamental of our Order which prohibits politics in our ranks.

We have repeatedly stated that to vote for a member of any denomination solely on account of his religion or to vote against one solely on that account, are equally reprehensible. Religion and politics must be kept separate in this country or both will be ruined, and the country with them. Religious questions injected into a campaign by one side and met by the other, create too much excitement, too much bitterness, for the parties to keep in mind the public good. The more uniformly and severely Catholics frown upon all attempts at making religion a political issue the more deserving will they appear in the eyes of their countrymen. Without doubt Catholics are often defeated for office solely on account of their religion, but we find that more often there are other reasons for their defeat, and they are not always bad reasons. By and large we will suffer far less in the defeat of a good man because we did not as Catholics give him united support than in the triumph of one not so good who received the Catholic support. We should be slow to look upon a Catholic candidate as a victim of religious rancor, and slower still to believe the underground rumors oftentimes systematically inspired that this or that candidate, or this or that man, party, paper, or movement is anti-Catholic. Above all we must beware of the Catholic politician who uses prejudice as a foil to advance himself or his friends into office. Here is a pregnant source of prejudice, excited on our side as well as the other; if the cry of "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," as has been said, the cry of prejudice is the first resort of a professional politician threatened with defeat.

SOCIALITY.

Catholics are sometimes accused of lacking the spirit of sociality. The settled policy of the Church in regard to associations or surroundings that encourage religious indifference, or otherwise endanger the faith or morals of Catholics, and especially of Catholic children, is born of the wisdom of the ages and ought not to be questioned. But to invoke that policy where it was not intended to apply and become literally a segregated people, divided in groups and classes in all their activities, is but little less desirable, would be but little less detrimental, than complete amalgamation in all things. None understand this better than our Church dignitaries, and if their example in associating with, and in

making some of their very best friends among, non-Catholics, and in joining with them in purely civic activities, were more generally followed, there would be no right reason for complaint on the part of our separated friends.

But all the censure should not fall upon Catholics in this matter; very often our separated friends not only misconstrue our reserve, but fail to respect principles which we cannot sacrifice and be true to ourselves. For instance, because we are slow to approve of certain organizations for young people we are suspected of opposing their aim to build up a better citizenship. This is a wrong conception of our motives. The faith of our children is very precious in our sight, and these organizations are often a source of grave danger to the faith of the young. Where they are careful to preserve an exclusively civic character, they have reason to expect, and ought to have, the co-operation and support of Catholics no less than others, but where this is not the case we cannot fairly be censured for trying to preserve our children in the Faith, nor fairly accused on that account of being opposed to the very best citizenship.

Again, in regard to societies forbidden to Catholics: Some seem to think that the Church does not regard the members of these organizations as good persons and that Catholics are taught to shun them. This is a very great error and it excites resentment. There is no reason for such an error; for while an indorsement of these societies as such is clearly incompatible with our faith, the same as would be any indorsement of a religion not our own, nevertheless, Catholics may associate with their members, trade among them, vote for them, work for them, assist them and be assisted by them, as freely and as fully as any other persons. Catholics as a body thoroughly understand this matter, as their relations to their fellow citizens all over the country clearly show, and any action of a few implying the contrary is usually traceable to some selfish design and is not in accord with the true Catholic spirit or teaching.

Another matter in which Catholics are condemned without cause is in regard to the marriage laws of the Church, about which many non-Catholics are badly misinformed, believing that the decree *Ne Temere* declares null a marriage of Protestants, when the truth is the Church holds such marriages valid and binding until death. There is hardly

any excuse for such a wrong belief because the marriage law of the Church is centuries old and is readily accessible, in the Latin or authorized translations. Moreover, it has been in force in large portions of the country since the Council of Trent and the object of the *Ne Temere* was only to make its observance uniform. The idea that Catholics are taught to believe that the marriages of Protestants are invalid and their children illegitimate is a hate-breeding idea, and it is a social crime to circulate such a false and malicious belief.

Catholics as a body are censured because some do not indorse certain civic reforms being proposed and agitated in current times. But Catholics are "a body" only in respect to matters of which the Church teaches, and the Church teaches faith and morals, not civics; in her whole history she has never pronounced on a political question; her children do not look to her for guidance in this field and there is no political question on which they are not divided and no political movement in which they are not found. That some of them are slow to take up certain reforms is a mark, often a fault, which they share in common with other citizens, and not always a minority; as no suspicion attaches to other citizens on this account Catholics ought not to be singled out because they are not wiser than their generation.

V. SEATTLE RECOMMENDATIONS.

Our first report dealt briefly with (1) The civil allegiance of Catholics, (2) Their attitude toward public schools, and (3) Their indifference to social problems. We made recommendations in each of these matters, stating the Catholic position in regard to civil allegiance and the public schools and urging more active participation in all right movements for the public good. We still consider these matters among the main causes of prejudice and in reference to them now say:

(1)

The matter of our civil allegiance continues to be agitated; in the pre-election campaign we may expect it to be widely and even bitterly discussed. It is a cruel and offensive thing to question the loyalty of Catholics when both past history and living example show them as true as the truest and as brave as the bravest in the service of their country. In view of the record, we might pass this question

by with dignity; but we can challenge it with dignity too, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable persons who doubt our unqualified allegiance as Americans we feel that a vigorous and authoritative statement that will remove this suspicion entirely from fairminded men would not be untimely.

Near the close of the eighteenth century, the British Parliament inquired into this question. It had been charged throughout England, as is being done in America, that Catholics owe allegiance to the Pope as against the Government. The matter being carried to Parliament, the following searching questions were propounded:

"1. Has the Pope, or Cardinals or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or preeminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

"2. Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

"3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics or other persons differing from them in religious opinions in any transaction, either of a public or private nature?"

These questions were submitted through the Prime Minister to the leading Catholic Universities of Europe, and the answers were unanimously in the negative on each question. The answer of the University of Valladolid (Spain) is here given as typical of the others:

"To the first question it is answered—That neither Pope, Cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or preeminence directly or indirectly, in the Kingdom of Great Britain, or in any other Kingdom or Province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

"To the second it is answered—That neither Pope, nor Cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance or dispense with their obligation.

"To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally without respect to their religious opinions and with regard to Catholics it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion."

Some years later, the Archbishops of Ireland addressed a letter on these questions to the Roman See; the following is from the reply, given at Rome, June 23, 1791, by Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect:

"The See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox; that an oath to kings separated from the Catholic communion can be violated; that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to dictate in their temporal rights and dominions. We consider an attempt or design against kings or governments, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime."

"We are constantly praying that all rulers may enjoy long life, quiet government, a loyal household, a brave army, a faithful senate, an honest people, and general tranquility."

"When preaching to your people, exhort them, again and again, to love all men, to cherish their brotherhood, to fear God, to honor the king."

Later, the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland drafted a solemn disavowal of the Pope's alleged claim of civil authority; this was submitted to the Pope and the Roman Cardinals and they declared it consonant with Catholic teaching. We quote its principal declaration:

"We have been charged with holding that the Pope, or certain ecclesiastical powers can absolve us from our oaths of allegiance. Now we utterly denounce, abjure and deny such belief as contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality and repugnant to the teaching and the spirit of the Catholic religion. We declare that we do not believe that the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his Majesty King George III the lawful King of the realm."

This declaration in the form of an oath was subscribed by the archbishops, bishops, priests and laity of Ireland in 1792. Thus in the purity of their allegiance did Irish Catholics set an English King before the Pope of Rome. What excuse then, for doubting the loyalty of Catholics in America, where they enjoy freedom of worship and equal rights under the laws as nowhere else in the world?

(2)

The attitude of Catholics toward the public school continues to be a source of prejudice as it continues to be misunderstood and misconstrued. We repeat from the statement made in our former report, and confirm:

"There has never been, there is not now, nor is there warrant for thinking there ever will be, any attempt on their part to interfere in any manner with the advancement of common school education in any part of the United States. We do not desire to control the public schools, nor to hinder education, nor to force Catholicity upon unwilling minds. We desire universal education, would have it free where possible and would make it compulsory where necessary. While we have no fault to find with those outside our faith who wish their children to attend the public schools, for ourselves we prefer a school where religion is taught and only regret that all cannot see how important it is that the youth of the country be taught the truths of religion during the years when the mind is being opened and the character is being formed. We consider this so necessary that we are maintaining separate schools while at the same time we bear our share in supporting the public schools."

The charge that the Catholic Church is opposed to education is disproved by her history throughout the ages. In view of all that the Church has done and is doing, even right in our midst, for education and learning, such an accusation is a mark of ignorance.

The Church has ever been the pioneer in education. She had established schools in America a hundred years before the Pilgrim Fathers arrived. Catholics have every reason to be proud of the history of Catholic education, in America or elsewhere.

(3)

Our previous recommendation urging that we become "more intimately acquainted with social problems and more closely identified with right movements looking to their solution," stimulated greater interest and met with more general response than any other matter. There is a rapidly forming sentiment in this regard, a marked growth of sympathy in most all lines of social activity.

We specially note the increasing emphasis placed on the value of temperance by Catholic papers. Our Order itself has become a great force for temperance; through its constitutional bar against liquor traffickers in its ranks, supplemented by its rigid prohibition of liquor on its premises or at its functions or celebrations, it exercises a most salutary influence.

On the great industrial questions, Catholics are not unmindful of the warning of Leo XIII that "the elements of a conflict are unmistakable," and of his admonition that they "throw into the conflict all the energy of their minds." "For there can be no question whatever," he points out "that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily on the very poor. Those Catholics are worthy of all praise and there are not a few, who, understanding what the times require, have, by various enterprises and experiments, endeavored to better the condition of the working people without any sacrific of principle * * * by striving to make both families and individuals better off, by infusing the spirit of justice into the mutual relations of employer and employed, by inculcating self-restraint which tends to establish harmony among the interests and classes that compose the State. * * * The first concern of all is to save the workers from the cruelty of grasping men who use them as mere instruments to make money. * * * Whatever shall appear to be conducive to the well-being of those who work should receive favorable consideration.

We commend to all our members the study of this great Pope's celebrated Encyclical on the Working Classes. We urge the officers of the various subordinate councils to acquaint themselves and their membership with the counsel and suggestions given in this document, for it is recognized by thoughtful men of every country as a classic authority on the most vital and the most pressing social problems of the times. We especially recommend the study of the program outlined by Leo in the treatment of social evils, namely: shorter hours and better conditions for workingmen; no children in workshops and factories; restriction of working women to certain trades; provision for wages to support the worker, so as to enable him to maintain himself, his wife and children, in reasonable comfort; societies for mutual aid; assistance to foundations for accidents, sickness and death; "patronages" for the incompetent and disabled, both young and old; workingmen's unions and associations.

CATHOLIC PRESS.

We also formerly recommended a more general and more hearty support of our Catholic Press, but we regret to report very little improvement in this regard. Only by building up

and supporting a strong Catholic Press, thoroughly tolerant in spirit, thoroughly American in tone, thoroughly Catholic in teaching and influence, a Catholic Press that without sacrificing truth is abreast the trend of the times toward a more enlightened and a more contented common people and which can rightly interpret and inspire their conscious awakening to their place and their power in the land,—only by putting our heart and our gifts and our gold into such a Press, guided by our Hierarchy, can we hope to achieve that place in our country's onward march to which our members, our intelligence and our cause rightly entitle us. We are clearly failing in our duty to our country no less than to ourselves and our Church, when we fail, each to do all he can to encourage and spread the Catholic Press by all deserving means.

VI. CONCLUSION.

When all has been said that can be said,—the sources, causes and conditions of prejudice and the remedies suggested or indicated as they appear throughout this report in their numerous aspects and bearings are summed up,—the entire subject to our minds settles down to one proposition, and that is education.

While we realize that the individual, personal sentiment of prejudice can never be eradicated as long as human nature harbors likes and dislikes, nevertheless we firmly believe that social prejudice will yield to a systematic and persevering treatment aiming to correct the misinformation, causes and influence that abound in regard to those things which divide people into groups and classes, separating them wider and wider with each generation until some great common danger or common sorrow brings them back to a realization of their common brotherhood, all of which is unnatural in this country and foreign to its spirit and the ideals of a broad democracy. The ultimate removal of this very great social impediment can be confidently expected only when our moral and material energies are bent in the direction of proper education.

Catholics and Protestants alike need proper education, an education that will deal with broad principles of justice, brotherly love, liberty and patriotism; that will teach tolerance, not only in matters of religious belief, but also for the ideals

of men as to all matters that come up in their daily lives. Good men have become enemies in this country on account of questions of tariff, taxes, imperialism, prohibition and a dozen of such things, which are not at all essential to the broader fundamentals of our country's welfare, but which have been attended in their expression, or have been met in their opposition, with a species of intolerance as unreasonable, as disturbing as religious intolerance itself.

An education on the fundamentals of our civilization as it has reached its highest expression in this great cosmopolitan country, is what we need, and it should bring full tolerance and honest respect for the opinions and the ideas of others in all matters, thus making this country a better place in which to live, and this generation, through a calm study of the views of others in a serious endeavor to avail themselves of the best light, more thoughtful, more thorough and in every way more charitable.

There could be a vast improvement along these lines in the text books used in our schools all over the country, especially in the public schools. Intentionally or otherwise, but with striking frequency, texts in use are tainted with prejudices and sentiments that instill into the youth of the land a feeling against one class or another. Some of these books, more commonly the histories, are so decidedly biased and unfair, particularly to Catholics, that even a cursory examination discloses their bigoted, un-American character. Wherever possible the attention of the proper officials ought to be called to this grave wrong so that it may be corrected without delay.

We urge our members to attend to this important matter and in a courteous, kindly way, after having informed themselves from first hand sources, point out all objectionable matter, and we venture to that say in hardly an instance will it fail in due course to be remedied. At the same time the text books used in our own schools should be examined to see that they are not only fair, but sympathetic, in regard to those matters which usually excite ill-feeling between class and class.

Joint education for Catholics and non-Catholics is not practical in our work on religious prejudice; for it was very early pointed out to us, and afterwards proven that the treat-

ment of prejudice had to be administered by leaders on each side, as Protestants would not heed advices or brook criticism as to their intolerance coming from Catholics, who likewise cannot be expected to listen to outside counsel about their own shortcomings; which will explain why our entire recitals have dealt with ourselves and our own conditions almost to the exclusion of non-Catholics and this should not be taken as indicating a less responsibility on their part for conditions, in the past or in the future.

While we have already commended our program to some of our non-Catholic friends, and propose doing so in a systematic manner we will have to confine our plans to our own people and logically perhaps to our own membership; but if we can impress our ideals and the necessity of intellectual advancement upon our own membership of over a third of a million, we will go a long way in rendering the very best service to them and to our fellow citizens.

We have in detail all through our report given causes and history of Anti-Catholic feeling, and we did not fail to make it appear that we were contributory in no small way to conditions; but it should also be borne in mind, that there are still living Catholics who have suffered the greatest distress on account of the discriminations, riots and murders in this country, but with all that, now that they are often a majority where formerly they were a helpless minority, they fully realize that they are strictly bound to avoid all methods, in business, politics or social life that work in the way of reprisal or retaliation of any kind, and they are willing to make every human sacrifice to save this country, which has done so much for all of us, from transplanting the religious strife of the old world, so that we here in the Land of Many Nations can show the whole world a country of "Love and Harmony, Justice and Liberty, Tolerance to every man, woman and child, Black or White, of every Creed and Religion."

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS.

No. 1. That the Commission be continued with the same powers and under the same limitations as when created.

No. 2. That we continue the Nation-Wide Patriotic Movement to create a sympathetic relationship among people of all religions in the improvement of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship.

No. 3. That we arrange and perfect on a larger scale than we have yet attempted, plans to use the platform for public addresses and to carry on a propaganda through the secular and religious press.

No. 4. That we organize and systematize the educational activities of the Order by outlining a program for all State and Subordinate Council Lecturers.

No. 5. That the Grand Knight of each Council be held responsible for the dissemination of literature, and especially with the duty of supplying information concerning published articles which deserve notice.

No. 6. That we provide a clearing center for the exchange and dissemination of all beneficial matters.

No. 7. That the Supreme Secretary establish a Bureau for carrying out the foregoing recommendations under the advice of the Commission and subject to the Supreme Board of Directors.

No. 8. That a sum not to exceed $30,000 be set aside to carry out these recommendations.

P. H. CALLAHAN, Chairman.

CATHOLICS and Protestants together settled America. Together, they laid the forests, drained the swamps and plowed the land. They fought together in the battles of the Revolution. They stood side by side in the conventions and congresses that secured the liberties of the people. Why should they now suffer self-seeking men to betray them into hatred for one another?

When America outgrew her Colonial limits, Catholics and Protestants, side by side, faced the toil and danger of pioneer life. State after State was carved out of the great West. City after city arose. Railroads crossed the broad wastes and bridges spanned the deep streams. And all was the joint work of Catholics and Protestants. There is no State but where they live together, do business together, vote together; no city but where their churches together lift their spires toward the same heaven; no railroad, telegraph, express and hardly a mill, factory or mine but where their moneys and their interests are joined hand in hand. Then, why should Catholics and Protestants not continue to live together in peace?

WHEN America was convulsed with a great civil war, Catholics and Protestants stood shoulder to shoulder. Together they camped in the swamps, marched through the wilderness, prayed, fought, suffered, and their dust lies mingled upon every battlefield of that desperate war. And when peace was come, together they set about peaceful pursuits. Why can they not preserve that peace among themselves in the spirit of Him Who living and dying enjoined upon all men to "Love one another?"

The American Constitution and the Constitutions of each State, guarantee liberty of belief and worship. Catholics and Protestants in joint assembly wrote these guarantees. Why now listen to the designing men who try to violate them?

Today, in every section of the land, in every city and township, in almost every hamlet, Catholics and Protestants are living together as neighbors and friends. Why permit this friendly relation to be disturbed by uncharitable, un-Christian and un-American appeals to prejudice, passion and ill-feeling?

Tomorrow, as today, and for generations to come, Catholics and Protestants must live together as neighbors. Shall it not be also as friends?

Final Report of Commission on Religious Prejudices

SUPREME COUNCIL
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
CHICAGO
AUGUST, 1917

Supreme Council, Knights of Columbus, Chicago, Ill., August, 1917.

Proceedings, August 7, 1917.

Col. P. H. Callahan, Chairman of the Commission on Religious Prejudices, Presented the Commission's Annual Report.

REMARKS OF COL. CALLAHAN:

"This is intended to be the final Report of the Commission on Religious Prejudices; it is, therefore, necessarily very much longer than anything else we have written, and on that account is made this departure from our previous plan of reading the Report at length.

"These brief remarks are to suggest to you some of the most interesting features in this final account of our labors, those, in my opinion, that ought to be thoughtfully considered by the membership of this great Order, and, in fact, by our fellow citizens generally.

"The first thing that I would point out to you is the matter that furnishes a key to the whole of our activities in the work of the Commission; that is, the distinction drawn in the very beginning between the individual personal sentiment of prejudice, which is more or less born with a man and in a way interwoven in the fabric of his life, and the collective or social sentiment which moves in waves and comes and goes by periods.

"It was pointed out when we entered upon the work of the Commission that we had no intention of composing, and very little thought of dealing with, the individual sentiment, which must be considered as a constant force and dealt with

by the divine instrumentalities appointed by God and His Church. It is the social sentiment that we have all along endeavored to treat. That is an inconstant force and it will yield to systematic and persevering treatment like any other inconstant force.

"An intelligent effort steadily pursued, conducted with a sense of fairness, with a sympathetic regard for the misunderstandings of our neighbor and with a conscious recognition of weaknesses and faults in ourselves, seemed bound to remove many prejudices, and as this was the thought that brought forth the Commission, it is the one that has conducted and directed its policy and work throughout. Keeping this single purpose in mind will probably remove doubts which some have entertained in regard to the expediency and efficacy of the Commission's labors.

"We approached this attitude from the citizens' standpoint rather than from that of Catholics; not surrendering anything due or becoming Catholics, of course, but laying more particular emphasis upon the common interests, the common duties and the common ideals of citizens in this great Republic. For, needless to say, we all know that notwithstanding the vigor of the anti-Catholic campaign, its many ramifications and its dominant influence in certain sections, Holy Mother Church was never in any danger from it and there was never any need of defending her from its attacks.

"Indeed, from the standpoint of the Church, and disregarding our rights and privileges as citizens, we see as a matter of history that a period of persecution has always been followed by most astonishing prosperity in the Church. And the more widespread, virulent and bitter the persecution has been, the more prosperous has been the condition of the Church afterwards.

"Hence, we approached our work as citizens rather than as Catholics and upon this basis we appealed to all citizens, irrespective of their religious beliefs, to join in our aim to put down the excitement and compose the differences created by the professional propagandists. This is a new mark made in the history of religious prejudice. Never before were they combated strictly on the ground of common interest and with the object of establishing a common peace.

"Another note worthy of mention and which gives a distinct character to the project of the Commission is, that while the members of our Order, as such, were most conspicuous as a butt of attack, we appealed directly to the American public to join in stemming the tide of ill-feeling and hatred that was being raised. This established in a striking way the confidence we felt in the broadminded attitude of the representative American. We appealed to his fairmindedness, without counter attack, without argument, with neither an outburst of indignation nor a whine of complaint, but just as one business man appeals to another, in a considerate, compelling show of the broad principle of a square deal.

"The result has been all that the most optimistic could have expected. For the first time in the history of anti-Catholic campaigns in this country one of them has been peacefully broken at high tide. Of course, the war precipitated matters; but before our country had entered the war it was very plain to the thoughtful observer that the force of the anti-Catholic campaign had been spent and that it was merely running along on the momentum it had acquired, still going, but with steam exhausted.

"For instance, when the Commission was created there were about 60 anti-Catholic papers appearing in different parts of the country. Many of them had a very wide circulation, from 100,000 to nearly 1,500,000. At the beginning of this year there were only two or three of these being issued. The year the Commission was created anti-Catholic legislation in one or another form was attempted in over 40 legislatures. Within the last year only five such efforts have been made.

"Last year we had one of the most seriously contested national elections in the history of the country and though there were circumstances involved which the anti-Catholics really expected to count a great deal in their lines, I venture to say that, considered far and wide, bigotry made less headway than in any other hotly waged national contest since the Civil War.

"In Florida they elected an anti-Catholic governor, but he was the only one of his kind elected throughout the country. When we compare this with the results of elections in the A. P. A. times, when more than one-half dozen governors and

three times as many Congressmen were elected because they were anti-Catholics, it is a very gratifying result indeed.

"If one thing more than another has contributed to this very satisfactory showing, it is, in my opinion, the fact that a note of dignity has been sounded in the discussion of the subject of religious prejudice. If you have observed the difference in the manner we ourselves right here in the Supreme Council treat this subject now as compared with a few years back, you are surely persuaded that a sane, calm, composed discussion, without flying into passion or indulging in bitter invective, is a marked improvement in this regard that has contributed much to our own intelligent survey and analysis of the subject in hand, giving us a much better, more correct and more comprehensive view of the points involved, the difficulties to be overcome, the problems to be solved and the improvements to be made.

"I venture the opinion that this touch of dignity is the very best mark of rational effort that could be brought to bear upon the work we have been conducting, and to this, perhaps, more than to anything else, is due the marked success which has attended the labors of our Commission.

"We have pointed out in this Report with painstaking thoughtfulness the general line of characteristics which generally accompany the waves of prejudice that have been visited upon us in this country, and the antidotal measures—the antitoxins, they have been called—which should be applied to prevent them from rising, or to set them at rest when they do arise. A study of these general lines and principles which are both interesting and instructive will perhaps afford the very best insight into the nature of the social sentiment of bigotry, and at the same time suggest the most effective remedy that has yet been offered. It is for the future that this report is made and for that reason these broad outlines should be given the most earnest consideration possible.

"The Commission has assisted in making different plans over the country; some having conciliatory personal contact, some correspondence, some organizations, as their predominant feature; some applying to cities, some applying to larger sections. We incorporate in our Report one of these planned for a city and one planned for a State. The first is known as the Buffalo Plan for Peace and the next as the Georgia Plan for

Peace. You have, of course, seen the outline of these as published in "The Columbiad," but I am sure you will get a new light from them if you read them as they appear in the Report in connection with the whole scheme of our policies and our work.

"In conclusion the Commission recommends that it be discontinued, that a permanent record be made of its final report, that appendices setting out briefly a comprehensive view of our work from the beginning until now, be incorporated in the Report and that it be given wide circulation.

"The Commission ought to be discontinued because its work is done, and, we venture to think, not altogether badly done. Not that bigotry is dead, not by any means; that will never be. But the wave of bigotry that a little while ago was spreading over the country has subsided and its bitter waters lie stagnant.

"If this is not wholly true now, it will be in a brief while. We said in our last Report that a great common danger, or a great common sorrow always brings men back to a realization of their common brotherhood. That seems to have been a prophetic note whose fulfilment is now at hand.

"War, the great unveiler of national weaknesses, is upon us, and bigotry in all its forms is suddenly exposed in nakedness, so that the world can see it is a discordant force within a nation, a cause of dissension among a people, a source of dry rot and destruction in the civic life of mankind.

"To quote from our Report: 'The war will kill bigotry. Not the individual sentiment; but the movement. That personal dislike or disbelief which one may have for this or that religion, that spirit of adverse though sincere criticism which is the salt of intellectual life, will abide as long as personal preferences and individual initiative remain characteristics of free men. But the jealousies, enmities, bitterness and hate, wholesale inventions of scandal, studied falsehoods, agitated feelings of anxiety, fear and suspicion born of dark thoughts and evil rumors, all played against each other with diabolical cunning, these the war will quiet and the social ferment arising from their systematic exploitation will stagnate and die.

"'During the war's progress, there will be required on the part of the whole nation, every resource, every energy.

the best thought, the highest devotion, willingness to make any sacrifice, readiness to meet any emergency, and it will be a sorry sort of "patriotism" that presumes anywhere in this country to raise the "Catholic" cry. Following in the war's wake, there will come such an overflowing feeling of human kindness, sympathy, understanding, such a fellow feeling among men, as will touch the very depths of life and make the world seem kin, and for a long while the common conscience of mankind will frown down all efforts to arouse the spirit of bigotry among men.'

"Commending the various thoughts and suggestions of our written report to the consideration and study of all concerned, and reaffirming our previous utterances and findings, we now finally recommend:

"That after the proper disposition of all matters pending, including the circulation of this Report and connected duties, the Commission on Religious Prejudices be finally discontinued."

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS IN ANNUAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST, 1917:

Foreword

A Timely Move

When the Supreme Council at its annual meeting in St. Paul, August, 1914, created a Commission on Religious Prejudices and appropriated to its use the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars, it was generally recognized as a timely and propitious move.

Concerted Action Wanted

For some three years, then, a systematic campaign to discredit in the eyes of their fellow citizens, the Catholic people of America, to injure them in business, proscribe them in politics and embarrass them in their social relations, had been in progress, without meeting opposition that had anything like the concert of action or of aim necessary to be effective.

An Urgent Prospect

Conducted without stint and waged without scruple, ably directed, generously financed and practically unhindered, this campaign has already produced results most undesirable in American life, and it threatened, if not directly checked, to bring about conditions most injurious to the people if not, indeed, subversive of the liberties and free institutions of our country.

Not for Church

In view of this prospect, it was nothing short of a patriotic duty in which the Knights of Columbus proposed to go forward. There was, of course, no need of their defending the Church. Having in the past successfully weathered many a storm that was far more perilous, she could scarcely now be in want of other assistance than that which had so long

stood her in stead. No religious duty was apparent when history showed so clearly that religion thrives most where it is most persecuted.

For the Common Good of All

But the civic duty was plain. The rights of citizens were menaced, the commonality of citizenship was endangered, the elemental relations of life in society were agitated where they ought to be composed. Some counter action was imperative, to break the force of the thing and save this generation from the deplorable climax of excitement and hot feeling that made Bloody Mondays in the days of our fathers.

Setting a Precedent

It is a matter of note that though they were perhaps the most conspicuous among those whom the anti-Catholics attacked, the Knights of Columbus so appraised the fairness of the American people that they appealed directly to the people to stem the tide of suspicion and hate which the storm of bigotry was raising. It is no less worthy of mention that they based this appeal on patriotic grounds. This marks an epoch in the history of religious bigotry campaigns, by whomsoever waged, for it sets them in the light of opposing not religious truth merely, but civic righteousness also, and, thus exposed, all true citizens irrespective of creed are summoned to unite in putting them down.

Typically American

This way of setting at rest the discords created by prejudices, seemed in singular keeping with the ideals and institutions of America and strikingly characteristic of the people of the country, who though they differ widely as regards the truths of religion are of one mind in respect to the common things of life in society.

"Love Thy Neighbor"

Such was the conception that brought forth the Commission on Religious Prejudices, created by the Supreme Council and directed "to study the causes, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for the religious prejudice that has been manifested through press and rostrum in a malicious and scurrilous campaign, that is hostile to the spirit of American freedom and liberty and contrary to God's law to love thy neighbor as thyself."

A Common Appeal

On this common basis, all citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, were invited to join in the aim to free American life of the professional bigot. The response was prompt, general and generous. The belief that the large public in this country is fair at heart and just in opinion, which had prompted this initiative, was abundantly justified. In a very little while it was plain that for one time at least, though it be the first time in history, an anti-Catholic campaign was destined to wane and die before it had set the whole nation agog.

Results

Cordial Response

In the Commission's First Report, made to the Supreme Council at its meeting in Seattle, August, 1915, were presented at some length the approving opinions of its aim, its policy and its work, as expressed in cordial editorial notices, public utterances and personal correspondence from hundreds of the leading and most influential men in all parts of the country. This helpful concurrence of opinion, growing more pronounced and more extended each year, has been of the utmost assistance in furthering our aim. In the three years since we began our labors it has brought about among thoughtful citizens a practically uniform attitude of condemnation for professional propagandists of the ant-Catholic type.

"Anti" Propaganda Diminished

The Commission's Second Report related numerous instances where speakers of this class had been utterly discountenanced by the whole body of respectable citizens where they appeared and they were compelled to resort to tricks and actually to hire the hoodlum element of the community to induce a crowd to assemble and hear them. At the same time, it appeared among fifty odd anti-Catholic papers previously flourishing over the country. Only two or three continued to issue regularly, and among these the most notorious had seen its boasted circulation fall off from nearly a million and a half to one-third or one-fourth of the number.

Politics Purified The period of campaign preceding a general election is usually the most fruitful time for bigotry. Scheming politicians, Catholic or Protestant, seldom scruple to make the most of such things, and their petty intrigues, where they do not create prejudices, raise up many obstacles to their being composed. It is a matter for congratulation to the whole American people, therefore, that in the pre-election campaign of 1916, notwithstanding the preceding agitation, there was perhaps as little display of bigotry as was ever before shown in a vigorously waged national contest.

Bigots Defeated The Commission's recommendations on this score, adopted by the Supreme Council meeting at Davenport, August, 1916, were copied with much zest by the leading publications of the country, religious and secular, and we venture to think they had some weight, due not to their origin but to their pre-eminently patriotic quality and tone, in repressing sentiments that otherwise might have more generally prevailed. With the exception of the Governor of Florida, no anti-Catholic candidate for office was successful at the polls last year, which, by comparison with A. P. A. times, when half a dozen governors and a score of congressmen were elected on bigoted platforms, is a most gratifying result as well as a splendid exhibition of the increasing fairness and practical good sense of our common people.

Public Expression So marked has been the growth of sentiment in opposition to the attitude of the professional bigot, that, except among those interested in furthering his work, there has been none to approve the action taken in Florida; on the contrary, it has been unsparingly condemned, as the following, excerpted from the most distinguished editorial writer of the South, will bear witness:

"Last summer in one of the Southern States there arrived upon the scene a tramp preacher who less than five years before had blown in from an adjoining State. Nobody knew much, or anything, about him. He announced himself as a candidate for Governor on a prohibition, anti-Catholic platform. He made the welkin ring with the 'peril of Rum' and the 'iniquity of the Pope of Rome.' He ran against a regular

Democratic nominee. It reads like a joke that he was elected. Fatuous, blind folly in a body of voters could go no further." —*The Courier-Journal,* Jan. 13, 1917.

"Anti" Legislation Another striking proof that the wave of bigotry had spent its greatest force some time before was seen in the fact that when the several State legislatures met in 1917, scarcely any effort to secure anti-Catholic legislation was put forth. In the two years prior, one or more bills intended in some way to penalize or discriminate against citizens of our faith, were introduced in no less than forty-three legislatures. This year, so far as our advices go, such measures have appeared in only five States and in two of these, at least, they are the result more of political factionism than of real sentiment against Catholics as such.

Bigotry Rapidly Waning On the whole, therefore, considering the larger aspects under which a movement commonly manifests itself, that is to say, through propaganda, politics and legislation, it is a fair conclusion that at the opening of 1917, the anti-Catholic movement was some way on the downward plane, and clearly it was only a question of time, if no untoward circumstances sprang up, when it would cease to disturb the current of social life in this generation.

Prospects

War Exposes Bigotry Now events have suddenly precipitated matters. The neoprophetic note touched in the Commission's Second Report has sounded terribly loud and the "great common danger or great common sorrow which brings men back to a realization of their common brotherhood," is upon us. Our country is at war. Grim necessity shapes our lives. We are brought face to face with the primal things of life, where utter realities stand out and nothing but the good and true survives. Bigotry, in its various forms, is stripped at a stroke of its many pretensions and all the world can see that it is a discordant, dishonest, disruptive force within a nation, a cause of internal dissension among a people, a source of dry rot and destruction in the civic life of mankind.

The Ferment Will Not Survive

The war will kill bigotry. Not, of course, the individual sentiment, but the movement. That personal dislike or disbelief which one may have for a certain religion, that spirit of adverse though sincere criticism which is the salt of intellectual life, will abide as long as personal preferences and individual initiative remain characteristics of free men. But the jealousies, enmities, bitterness and hate, wholesale inventions of scandal, studied falsehoods, agitated feelings, of anxiety, fear and suspicion born of dark thoughts and evil rumors, all played against each other with diabolical cunning, these the war will quiet, and the social ferment arising from their systematic exploitation will stagnate and die.

Now—Duty; Then—Charity

During the war's progress there will be required on the part of the whole nation every resource, every energy, the best thought, the highest devotion, willingness to make any sacrifice, readiness to meet any emergency, and it will be a sorry sort of "patriotism" that presumes anywhere to raise the "Catholic" cry. Following in the war's wake, there will come such an overflowing feeling of human kindness sympathy, understanding, such a fellow feeling among men, as will touch the very depths of life and make the world seem kin, and for a long while the common conscience of mankind will frown down all efforts to rouse the spirit of bigotry among men.

War's Toll of Bigotry

In the Spanish-American war, the sentiment that gave rise to the A. P. A. movement died; in the Civil War, the Know Nothing movement disappeared; in our war with Mexico, the exploitation of the Maria Monk frauds came to an end; in the war of 1812, the movement begun against the Catholic immigrants, who toward the end of the eighteenth century came flocking to our shores, collapsed; in the Revolutionary War, there was a period to the excitement stirred up as a result of the Catholics of Canada being granted liberty of conscience; in the French and Indian War, Puritians and Catholics put aside their differences and fought together under the banner of the mother country which had pursued them both.

A Great Purifier

And long prior, in England, in the war between Elizabeth and His Catholic Majesty of Spain, when the Catholics of England, notwithstanding she had sorely persecuted them, rallied as a man to the support of their Queen, the bitter, blood-thirsty bigotry that had previously existed died out, and better conditions, more tolerant relations began. War is a great leveler, a great purifier. It is an awful thing, almost inhuman; but it has its compensations.

"Finis"

Through the divine dispensation that has forced our country into war, therefore, the usefulness of the Commission on Religious Prejudices seems suddenly brought to an end, every historic precedent indicating that the aim toward which it has been striving, with every encouragement of success, will now be achieved by force of the eventful circumstances of these stirring, patriotic times.

We Are One

Already, the spirit of bigotry stands outlawed in the eyes of a liberty-loving people, loyal to the ideals of America and soul-bent upon preserving and extending the principles of justice and freedom which they enjoy. Our common Government, in its call for patriotic service and devotion from all the people, makes no choice between Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, believer and unbeliever; and it will tolerate none. We are one people; one in rights, one in duties, one in loyalty. There is no fear of any; there must be doubt of none.

Patriotic Devotion of Catholics

Loyalty of Catholics

We could speak for the Catholic people on this score, were there any need; but from the highest prelate to the most obscure layman among Catholics, from one end of the country to the other, there has gone forth as though it were one Voice, a full-souled, patriotic cry, and in the Army and Navy forces, at home and abroad, in the Officers Reserve Corps everywhere, with the Industrial Company Units in the wheat lands and the Red Cross Chapters from coast to coast and over the seas, wherever our country needs men

and women and volunteers have been permitted to go, the Catholics have been among the first, in both pledge and performance, and in numbers that very greatly exceed their proportion to the population.

Answer to Bigots

Here is an answer to the bigots' erstwhile cry of disloyalty, one more powerful than any words. Here is living, incontrovertible proof, that the loyalty of Catholics to their country, and their love of freedom and right, do not shrink by comparison with their fellow-citizens, but show up brave and true, responsive to the teaching and traditions of their Church that it is noble to serve and holy to die for one's country.

The Voice of the Hierarchy

The open letter of the Catholic Archbishops of America, which pledges the undivided devotion and united strength of the Catholic people in support of the President and the Government, is such a noble document, so elevated in thought and expression, so patriotic in spirit and tone, we proudly print it here as being the most impressive, soul-stirring wat paper coming from any body of men:

That the Great and Holy Cause of Liberty Shall Triumph and a Closer Union Among All Citizens Prevail

"Standing firmly upon our Catholic tradition and history from the very foundation of this nation, we reaffirm in this hour of stress and trial our most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism to our country, our government and our flag.

"Moved to the very depths of our hearts by the stirring appeals of the President of the United States and by the action of our National Congress, we accept wholeheartedly and unreservedly the decree of that legislative authority proclaiming our country to be in a state of war.

"We have prayed that we might be spared the dire necessity of conflict; but now that war is declared we bow in obedience to the summons to bear our part in it, with fidelity, with courage and with the spirit of sacrifice which as loyal citizens we are bound to manifest for the defense of the most sacred rights and the welfare of the whole nation.

"Acknowledging gladly the gratitude that we have always felt for the protection of our spiritual liberty and the freedom of our Catholic institutions under the flag, we pledge our devotion and our strength in the maintenance of our country's glorious leadership in those possessions and principles which have been America's proudest boast.

"Inspired neither by hate nor by fear, but by the holy sentiment of truest patriotic fervor and zeal, we stand ready, —we and all the flock committed to our keeping, to co-operate in every way possible with our President and our National Government, to the end that the great and holy cause of liberty shall triumph. Our people now, as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation; our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism and their service, new admiration and approval. We are all true Americans, ready as our age, ability and condition permit, to do whatever is in us to do, for the preservation, the progress and the triumph of our beloved country.

"May God direct and guide our President and our Government, that out of this trying crisis in our national life may at length come a closer union among all citizens of America, and that an enduring and blessed peace may crown the sacrifices that war inevitably entails."

Cardinal Gibbons

Cardinal Gibbons, in a memorable discourse delivered from the pulpit of his Cathedral in Baltimore, the Sunday after it had been declared by the Congress that our country was in a state of war, uttered these patriotic words:

"The primary duty of a citizen is loyalty to country . . exhibited by an absolute and unreserved obedience to his country's call . . . manifested by solemn service, not by empty declamation. . . In the present emergency it behooves every American citizen to do his duty, to uphold the hands of the President and the Congress in the solemn obligations that confront us, to pray that the Lord of Hosts may inspire them to such measures as will redound to the glory of our country, to righteousness of aim and conduct and to the future permanent peace of the world."

Cardinal Farley Cardinal Farley, on the same solemn day from the pulpit of his See, declared:

"Our President and our national Representatives having spoken, our response to the voice of authority which they embody will be to rally around our flag with complete fullness of devotion, with loyal hearts and sturdiest arms, to place all that we have and all that we are, at the service of our country. We will not shrink from any sacrifice in her behalf. We will render to her what our Catholic faith and teaching both sanction and santify. No demand on our citizenship will go unanswered or find us other than true Americans, true children of the Church, which never was found wanting in any crisis of our country."

Cardinal O'Connell Cardinal O'Connell, on that same Easter Day, at his See in Boston, said:

"God and our Nation! Let us lift to Heaven the cry. Let the love of true freedom—blessed, God-given freedom, which above all other lands our country has cherished and defended—let that be the thrilling power that will quicken our pulses into a still greater love of America than we have ever known till now. Whatever we can do in honor and justice, that we must in conscience do to defeat our enemy and make our Flag triumphant."

Martyrs in the Common Cause Throughout the country, the pastoral letters of bishops and the discourses of priests to the faithful have been charged with ringing calls to patriotic service, not in battle only, although that is supreme devotion, but in all things ordered by the authorities into whose hands the people have committed the immediate destinies of our country. These noble utterances form a literature, loyal, brave and inspiring, which, in figures and words never to be forgotten, teaches as a common theme the truth voiced by Archbishop Moeller, that "to help in the cause is holy; to die for it, in God's grace, is to win a martyr's crown."

Patriotic Service of Catholics

Catholic University of America The Catholic University of America, even before Congress had met, but after war was seen to be practically inevitable, through its Rector, the Rt. Rev. Thos. J. Shahan, put its spacious grounds and buildings in Washington, its priests and professors and student body, itself, in fine, at the disposal of our honored President for such use as the Government might desire. The following is the record:

Catholic University of America

Office of the Rector

Washington, D. C., March 28, 1917.

"Your Excellency:—

"In view of the present emergency, the Catholic University of America has the honor to offer itself to you for such service as the Government of the United States may desire.

"With sentiments of profound respect, I have the honor to remain,

"Very Faithfully Yours,

"Thomas J. Shahan, Rector."

Industrial Army Company No. 1 As an immediate result of this offer, the first Company of the Industrial Corps organized by the Department of Agriculture, was selected from the student body of the University; and under the command of their reverend professors, duly commissioned, and the general orders of the Department, these boys, too youthful for military service, have been bearing the heat and burden of the day in the great harvest fields of the West, an unusual and striking example of the patriotic devotion of the Catholic people, both cleric and lay, in the service of the Country.

Red Cross If one thing more than another shows the earnestness of the Catholic people in their purpose to help their fellow citizens and bring glory to their country in these trying times, it is the action of Catholic clergy of various dioceses in taking up church collections for the Red Cross Fund and the generosity of the faithful, not usually blessed with great abundance, in their contributions. The news items below from the "*Hartford*

Courant," speaks eloquently in this connection, and when it is considered that the amount collected in this instance is more than ten times the amount of Peter's Pence, for example, usually collected in the same churches, it must also speak convincingly:

"The Connecticut diocese of the Roman Catholic Church collected nearly $25,000 last Sunday in the effort to secure contributions for the Red Cross fund, the exact amount being $23,549.13, with a few more parishes to hear from. It is expected that the final amount, when all reported, will be at least $25,000 or a little more."

Our Order

Our Supreme Board of Directors, on the 14th day of April, meeting to provide for the emergency created by the declaration of war, passed the following resolution, which our Supreme Knight transmitted to the President and to the Congress:

"The Supreme Board of Directors of the Knights of Columbus, at a called meeting held this 14th day of April, 1917, in the city of Washington, realizing that the crisis confronting our country calls for the active co-operation and patriotic zeal of every true citizen, hereby reaffirms the devotion of 400,000 members of the Order in this country to our Republic and its laws, and pledges their continued and unconditional support to the President and the Congress of the Nation in their determination to protect its honor and its ideals of humanity and right."

Alien Enemy Membership Forfeited—Insurance Members in Service Protected

At this meeting also, it was resolved that alien members of the Order, citizens of and owing allegiance to a country at war with the United States, by virtue of that status automatically forfeit membership in the Knights of Columbus. It was further resolved that the insurance policies of all members who volunteer or may be called to serve in any of the various departments of government service during the war, whether at home or abroad, notwithstanding their extra hazardous occupation would have their polices continued in full force.

Three Million for War Work for Soldier Boys

The war work undertaken by the Order, which has been in full operation a month now, being conducted under the supervision of the Secretary of War and the War Commission and in conjunction with a like work of the Y. M. C. A., in which three million dollars will be expended for the welfare of our soldier boys, both in camps at home and in trenches at the front, is further proof of the thoroughgoing, sterling spirit of devotion and love for country, and all things making for the glory of the country, that possesses American citizens of the Catholic faith equally with all others. The money for this splendid project is being raised by voluntary assessments, donations and subscriptions, and, thanks to the fervor of the Catholic people, is practically all paid in. While the spiritual needs of the Catholic soldiers will not be neglected, this large sum will be mostly expended in the erection and maintenance of auditoriums, recreation halls and club rooms, in which all soldiers, irrespective of their fraternal or religious affiliations, will be welcome to enjoy and benefit by the advantages and creature comforts thus made available in their all too cheerless lives.

Liberty Bonds

If anything more were needed, to show that the members of our Order, as becomes true Catholic men, are animated with patriotic zeal, the response made to the first Liberty Bond appeal would surely meet the need. The amount of bonds subscribed by individual members of the Order is not known, but subscriptions by Councils, which are known, exceed a million dollars. We may well be proud of the fact that our splendid Order leads all other organizations in this helpful work for the common cause.

General Catholic Activities Expressive of Patriotism

This brief recital of the activities of our Order and of Catholics in general, with no holding back, no slacking anywhere, although it is only a partial canvass of the multitude of similar doings by which the people of our faith have distinguished themselves in these anxious times, is proof positive, and, being not in word but in deed, conclusive, that the suspicion of the loyalty of Catholics which the bigots have industriously spread, was unworthy a truth-loving man,

and, in spite of the malevolent earnestness with which it was pressed, nothing more than a noisy blare.

The Bigot Confounded

We have stated in previous reports that practically all other counts in the bigot's libelous indictment drew their support from this trumpeted charge; hence, so long as these examples of the patriotic devotion of Catholics stand out to confound him before the world, there remains nothing else to be done in the way of exposing him, and we feel that the time has come for the Commission to make a final report of its work and join in the great procession of patriots who are placing all they have and all they are at the service of their country.

Final Report

Bigotry in Embryo

It must not be thought, however, that because the social sentiment of prejudice, which erstwhile stood out defiant and unashamed, proclaiming itself from the housetops and stirring a clamor in the land, is now practically dead, therefore the sentiment of bigotry which lurks hidden in the heart is likewise dead. It is not. Buried in its secret recesses, it is germinating like a fruit that has fallen ripe. In the hearts of the young especially, which the poison-venders, not content with their other evil deeds, have corrupted with their lying, scandalous inventions, will these germs slowly spring into life and in the next generation a new crop of tares will need to be garnered with the wheat of the social harvest.

Future Use of Reports

It seems, therefore, that while the immediate usefulness of the Commission on Religious Prejudices has ended, its findings will no doubt be useful in time to come. It is eminently proper, then, that they be made available for future use, and there appears no more fitting way of doing so than to make of the reports of our work a permanent record.

The Classes Responsible

In our First Report we described the principal classes from which religious prejudices come and by which they are cultivated or exploited—those who do not respect the constitutional provision regarding freedom of conscience or fail

to understand the belief of those professing a religion other than their own—those whose object is to destroy all religion and all duly constituted authority and only attack most fiercely the largest and most vigorous exponent of these ideas —those who, despite pretensions to a good purpose, are actuated solely by pecuniary or political considerations.

Conditions and Circumstances

In our Second Report we examined the conditions which produce these classes and especially their leaders, and the circumstances which they take advantage of, and the ways and means and devices through which they work. Incidentally, we reviewed the several periods in which systematic campaigns had been waged in this country, suggestively pointing to the combination of circumstances which helped them on.

For a Comprehensive View

From time to time since we began our labors, in carefully prepared articles printed in the official publication of the Order, we have dwelt at length upon various aspects of our policy and our work, to the benefit, we hope, of all who read The Columbiad. Excerpts setting out the leading thoughts in this way suggested will be found attached at the end here. They show the purpose of the Commission, the fundamental by which it has been guided and the chief difficulties with which it has had to contend. They afford a comprehensive idea of the classes and conditions to which religious prejudice, considered as a social sentiment, is largely due.

Causes

Preventive Work Next

We come now to causes. To know in advance what causes periodically produce this social sentiment, is to be on guard against its recurrence. It is far more difficult to check it if we must learn the causes after it begins to spread. The work of the Commission has been largely of an antidotal character, and a knowledge of conditions and classes and motives was of first importance for that. Preventive work will be next in order, and for that a knowledge of causes is imperative.

Excuses and Inventions And right at the outset we must distinguish "causes" that are unreasonable and causes that are reasonable; and also matters assigned as causes that are only excuses and other matters that are not even excuses but only vain imaginings or downright malicious inventions.

"Causes" Not Responsible Among the unreasonable causes is the attitude of some of our separated brethren toward certain integral teachings of the Church which have no bearing whatever on non-Catholics, such, for instance, as the primacy of the Pope, the celibacy of the clergy, the vows of the nuns, Confessions, Purgatory, Indulgencies. Inasmuch as Catholics alone have to do with these and like matters and non-Catholics have nothing to do with them, it appears that if the former are satisfied with them, the latter ought to be satisfied without them, and any other attitude on the part of our separated friends in respect to them, is clearly unreasonable.

Rights of Conscience It is precisely in this regard that the constitutional provision of liberty of conscience is intended to be unqualifiedly effective. On the typically American principle that everybody must mind his own business, it is for Catholics alone to say whom they will acknowledge as head of their Church, whether married or celibate life is more becoming to their priests, how their daughters are to be dedicated to religion, whom they will confess to, whom pray for, and all that; and in regard to such things, if Catholics are not to be free from molestation, provocative attack, offensive criticism, impertinent demands, ignorant ridicule, vulgar comment and scurrilous innuendo, their co-called freedom of conscience is just a mockery to them.

Respecting Things Common Among the causes that from the standpoint of our separated friends are more or less reasonable, is their view of the teaching and policy of the Church in relation to civil allegiance, primary education, mixed marriages and similar matters that have to do with the common life of citizens. In respect to such questions, while it ought not to be necessary in this age when the truth of things is almost universally available, it cannot be regarded as dignifying an impertinence,

for us to re-state, and explain if need be, the position and belief of Catholics.

Meddling vs. Americanism On the one hand we may very well disdain the meddling demand commonly expressed by the small-bore outsider that Catholics must have an American Pope, married priests, nuns without vows, and do away with confession, masses, prayers for the dead, and the like—as though outsiders, rather than ourselves, could have the right to say or could know what is best for our moral and spiritual well-being.. On the other hand we should respect those objections of our fellow citizens who, on account of their misunderstanding of our religion, have more or less definite fears that Catholics are not wholly in accord with the ideals and institutions of America. We should meet them with composure and treat them with tolerant and sympathetic feeling, lest we ourselves fail to understand an earnest and sincere, though a hapless and ill-taught, criticism.

Excuses

Wrong vs. Wrong As to the matters assigned as causes of prejudice that are really mere excuses, they cover the entire range of faults, irregularities, wrongs recorded in history, and those of current happening as well. It is a curious mental process, but it seems commonly to prevail, that in spite of their Christian profession, men try to justify the wrong they do on the ground that those they injure or their forebears have been guilty of similar conduct. In this way the cruel persecutions that some Catholic rulers have in the past inflicted on their non-Catholic subjects, are made to stand in defense of that spirit that would outlaw Catholics in these times.

An Endless Chain And some Catholics in turn would justify their misdeeds by an appeal to the record which shows how their brothers in the faith since the pagan Ceasars have been more or less violently persecuted in every country where non-Catholics have had power. It is a process of incrimination and re-crimination, of wrong, retaliation and reprisals, as insane in its purpose, as ruinous in its consequences, as it is un-Christian in its vindictive spirit.

Defeating the Constitution

To know these "causes" for what they are is to insure their swift and certain condemnation by men imbued with the free spirit of America. For it was primarily in order to escape the consequences of religious quarrels in the Old World that freedom of conscience was prescribed as a fundamental right in the New. And whether or not it violates the letter of that noble guaranty, it certainly frustrates its purpose to establish peace among citizens of different creeds, when Protestants exploit the cruelties inflicted by Queen Mary upon their fathers or Catholics play up the horrors perpetrated by Queen Elizabeth on their fathers, all in order to excite fear, hatred or condemnation of one another here where all are free.

Crime Against America

To recite such ancient wrongs and offenses for any other purpose than to make us more thoroughly appreciate and more zealously guard in their virginal purity the laws of religious liberty—to consider them as excuses for violating those peacecompelling provisions of our governmental charter, instead of reasons for their more thoughtful and painstaking observance,—is a crime against America, one that outrages the institutions, the people and the genius of all that is best in our country.

Malicious Inventions

There is one thing worse. That is to invent such excuses where they do not exist; to falsify history, exaggerate facts, trump up charges on suspicion and make accusations without any basis of truth. This species of villainy reaches an inglorious climax in the publication of forged documents, spurious quotations and faked or "doctored" records. An instance of this is seen in the circulation of the notorious "oath" once attributed to the Jesuits, then later to the Hibernians, and lately to the Knights of Columbus. Papal "Bulls" and "Encyclicals," excerpts from "Canon Law," quotations from books and papers not in existence are among numerous other forgeries perpetrated by the anti-Catholic propagandist bent on stirring up contention and strife among citizens.

The Public Scourge

Needless to say, all right thinking persons earnestly detest such practices and only a few are so lost to truth and decency as to carry them on. But there are a few. They belong to that class mentioned before, which, in spite of pretensions to a high purpose, is actuated solely by mercenary or political considerations; for they live by debauching ignorant minds and corrupting hearts without guile. They are enemies of the people. They are enemies of our country. Stripped of their cloak of hypocrisy the scorn and condemnation of mankind fall upon them like a scourge of iron.

The Future Plan

Real Bigots Few

The real bigots are relatively few. Barring the anti-Catholic editor, lecturer, author, the political baiter and "patriotic" organizer, and others who have a definite and direct personal interest in selling propaganda, collecting money or corraling votes in some way or other, the success of which depends upon the extent to which they can excite hatred, fear or suspicion of Catholics in a community; barring these active, energetic, unscrupulous and usually disreputable agitators, there are but few persons who are unapproachable from the Catholic side and who will not listen to calm reasons, dignified discussion or fair representation in reference to the Catholic teaching and position. And where this is the case, while there may be much prejudice, which can easily be inflammed, until that happens bigotry is only skin deep, if it exists at all.

The Class to be Approached

This class of disinterested, approachable persons, constituting the great bulk of the people, is the one to which the Commission has consistently directed its appeals, to dispel the suspicion, mollify the hate and quiet the stirring passions which the professional bigot, by playing native prejudices against each other, had with devilish cunning aroused. To approach with a like purpose a similiar class in the next generation, will be a necessary work for our children unless by anticipation the prejudices imbibed in youth can be composed by them before the prefessional bigots, who are sure to reappear, are able to get in their nefarious work.

About the Approach How to make the approach; in what manner, upon what basis, through what channel, by what means, are serious and weighty questions, which this generation cannot answer for the next. For there is no predicting the dominant phase with which the next group of bigots will begin. The Maria Monkites began with a book, the Know Nothings in a secret society, the A. P. A.'s in politics, the Menacers with a paper which in each case, constitued the backbone of the movement throughout.

Regarding Legislation There are not wanting indications that the next movement, when it comes, may begin, as the earlier movements began, in some form of proscriptive legislation, it being somewhat doubtful whether the religious liberty guarantee of the Federal Constitution, notwithstanding the XIVth Amendment, is effectually prohibitive of a State so amending its charter as to permit of legislative discrimination against or in favor of some religion.

To Guard Against Rising Waves There are certain enduring lines, however, that are invariably drawn when bigoted movements begin to form, and the most effective methods of breaking them are gathered from the experience of the past and from the fundamental rules of common life and Christian conduct in society. The Commission has devoted no little amount of study in this direction and ventures to suggest some ideas in the premises that may not be entirely without value in guarding against the rise of such movements in the future or in breaking their force when they do rise.

General Lines

The Spirit of Bigotry Regarding the character that a bigoted movement invariably takes on, however it may begin, we note:

First, the spirit. It is filled with hate, charged with passion, shot through with ill feeling, hot blood and malice.

The Aim Second, the aim. It is destructive, ruthless, bent on shattering reputations, striving to crush ideals, planning to ruin the peace of communities and wreck the relations of friends. It holds nothing too pure to defile. God, country, home, family, wife, child, a satisfying belief, a contented heart, a devoted life—it would sweep away all of these sweet consolations and leave us desolate.

The Means Third, the means. It resorts to exaggeration, invention, falsehood, defamation, calumny, abuse. Whether in spoken thought or printed word, it is indifferent alike to truth, charity, justice, friendship and peace.

The Leaders Fourth, the promoters. They are unscrupulous, almost to a man. There is rarely anything very creditable in their lives. They are seldom honest in their prentensions. A thoughtful appraisal of their motives and character must deprive them of all influence over sensible and fair-minded people.

The Tactics Fifth, the tactics. They consist in the cunning play of one prejudice against another. The interplay constitutes the movement, and distinguishes social prejudice from the individual sentiment. It keeps the thing going just the same whether prejudice is excited in a class or against a class. To spread it is the game, for that is what pays.

The Victims Finally, the victims. They are everybody but the promoters themselves. The hardest hit are persons whose uneventful lives make them readily susceptible to a stirring propaganda; but none entirely escapes its evil influence, because it is a common evil, which affects the whole community into which it comes.

A Challenge to All Citizens These general lines obtain in every wave of bigotry that arises in society, regardless of who starts it or against whom it is directed. They fail, upon any theory imaginable, to commend the movement they characterize to thoughtful men. They challenge the interest of all citizens. They challenge the good will of every one towards his neighobor. We must

all make common cause to keep down any movement so thoroughly bad.

Guiding Principles

The Hope and the Glory of the World Catholics and non-Catholics who love their country and would preserve it, who respect the duties of citizenship and would do them, must make common cause in many things; they must cease to hate each other, cease to be jealous of each other; they must put suspicion and ill will out of their hearts and come together to make a living thing of the spirit of our free institutions, our laws and social observances, so that the people of this great country, living in peace among themselves, may realize the exalted aims of their fathers that are the hope and the glory of the world.

A Duty of Catholics We for our part must consistently recognize that certain doctrines and teachings that we hold in undoubting security of belief are "hard sayings," which stirred a murmur in the hearts of men when the Master Himself revealed them, and it is certainly not to be expected that they will be received from us with any greater consideration or respect. What may very well be expected, however, concerning them, is that the doubts, the errors, the protests, even the ridicule of our separated friends, shall be borne by us with patience and composure.

Tolerance After all, this is the fruit of tolerance; rather it is tolerance itself. Nor is it embracing an error or a wrong, or endorsing it or condoning it, to tolerate it; to face it with undisturbed serenity of soul and without pride of opinion in ourselves or suspicion of evil in our neighbor. Nor does it correct an error or a wrong, or refute it, or remedy it, to become irritated and heated; to appear to give offense in return when offense seems given.

Generous in Opinions Neither the reward of suffering nor the blessing of peace comes to the agitated, pride-filled soul that flames up on the least provocation, as though it were written, "if thy brother agree not with thee, call him a fool; if he smite thee, knock

him down." To be generous in repect to opinions is the thing, remembering always that our interest in the premises is as nothing compared to that of our separated friend, since we could not possibly need to give him the truth so much as he needs to have it.

A Duty of Non-Catholics It must, of course, be acknowledged that there are limits, not in grace, but in nature, to what some scandalized persons can endure. Not everyone has the soul strengthened for heroic virtue or the wish or the will to win a martyr's crown. Our separated friends, therefore, on their part also have a duty to perform in the premises, which surely commends itself forcibly enough not to require emphasis.

A Duty Common To All Non-Catholics, in common with ourselves, should discountenance and discourage, and do all they can in reason to stop, the professional agitators who assail, not the teachings of the Church through the channels of reason and in legitimate controversy, but the practices and lives of the Catholic people, especially of Catholic women, through appeals based on falsehood and calumny which excite hate and hot passion and fan the fires of intolerance and persecution. For they thus put their assaults on a plane entirely beyond the realm of intelligent controversy or legitimate criticism and give them a personal character so direct and so scandalous that they are mortally offensive to every decent and thoughtful man.

Church Not on Trial We should all agree irrespective of religion and as a matter of realizing the very best in citizenship, that an Anti movement can do no harm to the Catholic Church and no good to any other religion; while it is the very ruin of peaceful life in communities. Catholics, of course, consistently take this position, and non-Catholics might also; for certainly the Catholic Church can not be put upon trial by any Anti movement. Considered as merely human, her character, place and standing in the world are such that however formidable in appearance, no movement wanting in elemental constructive principle can ever near endanger her.

Citizenship is on Trial The thing put upon trial by these bigoted movements is our democratic citizenship, which calls for the co-operation of all classes in the common counsels of the community and the country; which implies a commonality of interest and a mutuality of good will pervading the people. Anti-movements cannot thrive in the healthy atmosphere of positive and constructive thought; somewhat is lacking when they even get started.

Open Mind to Truth We must all open the mind to the truth about each other. We must hear evidence fairly, and make sure it is evidence; must weigh interests carefully, judge of motives without bias on the one hand or suspicion on the other.

Closed Ears to Scandal We must shut our eyes to scurrilous, wholesale lies printed and spread broadcast by men who make capital out of the prejudices they excite. We must close our ears to the scandalous inventions of propagandists bent on stirring up hatred among men.

Common Justice for All We must all, for the sake of our citizenship and the esteem in which on account of our fairness we are held by the world, see to it that citizens of America who worship God according to their conscience, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, Christian or non-Christian, are not denied common justice in their own country.

American Ideals These are a few of the guiding principles whose observance must be the thoughtful consideration of all citizens of every creed if we are to continue in pursuit of the ideals of liberty and peace which characterize the genius of America.

A Protestant Minister's Rules The Rev. Washington Gladden, the Congregationalist minister of Columbus, Ohio, whose opinion in the premises is of special value because of his experience and study from a Protestant standpoint of the anti-Catholic movements in America, sets out the following principles of thought and conduct which if followed, would forever put an end to

bigotry and which we quote here as rounding out our own ideas to practical completeness:

Agree to Disagree "In the first place it is necessary for us to recognize that there are differences between us, serious differences of belief.

Tell and Hear No Lies "In the second place I think it is safe for all of us, on both sides, to make up our minds not only that we will tell no lies about each other, but that we will discourage the circulation of all discreditable stories about each other.

See the Best Side "In the third place, we must see the best side of those who differ from us; put the best construction on their words and their lives; believe all things good of them and when things are less good than we could wish, hope for better things; be glad when they do well and sorry when they do wrong."

"Recommendation Three"

Social Problems "That, aware of the part which social conditions play in preparing a field for the cultivation and growth of prejudice, we urge our members to become more intimately acquainted with social problems and more closely identified with right movements looking to their solution, and that they actively join with those of all other creeds and stand as a body for the betterment of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship."

General Awakening of Catholics We would not venture to think that this recommendation made in the Commission's First Report and now commonly known as "Recommendation Three," was the inspiration of the large activities along the lines mentioned that have since been noticeable in conventions and assemblies of our people. It was rather one among the first positive indications of the general awakening in this country to the necessity of systematic co-operation and co-ordination of all Christian forces effectively and adequately to cope with the common evils of the day.

Divide and Conquer

"Divide and Conquer" is a fundamental of both radical and reactionary things, and the more numerous the divisions among Christian people the more they play in with the halting or destructive aims of anti-social and anti-Christian forces.

The Poor and the Oppressed

Especially in respect to the poor and the oppressed of society, of whom it behooves Christians most of all to be solicitous as becomes their conception of the essential equality and democracy among men, are unity of action and harmony of thought required.

The Trial of Liberty

Now more than ever before when the great and holy cause of liberty is on trial are oneness of heart and singleness of purpose imperative, and there is no place, no use, no room in all this great country, for the self-styled "patriot" or "Christian," who shrinks from common duty by the side of his fellowman.

The First Concern of All

Nor will there ever be, though in the providence of God the cause of liberty shall triumph, for then, too, as in the long bleeding centuries of the past, it will be, in the words of Pope Leo. XIII, of undying memory, "The first concern of all to save the people from the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily on the very poor."

Pro Bono Publico

We again commend, as in our Second Report, the study of this great Pope's celebrated Encyclical on the Condition of the Working Classes. It is a classic authority on the most vital and the most pressing matters touching our lives perhaps for generations to come. We commend also, in this connection, the message of approval of the social and civic activities of our Order sent by Pope Benedict XV, happily pontificating, to the Supreme Council assembled at Davenport last year; and the impressive note accentuated by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Bonzano, who in addressing the Supreme Council, laid fervent stress on the necessity of Catholics and non-Catholics working together in all right movements for the public good; and the full resounding

chord struck by Archbishop Keane in his sermon to the Knights, which admonished us in terms that apply to all: "Extend your tenderest sympathy to every civic need and to all movements for the betterment of your fellows; set aside prejudice; be kindly to those ignorant of your beliefs, indulgent without compromise and, above all, not contentious."

$30,000 for Better Relations

It is worthy of mention that when the Supreme Council came to vote on appropriating $30,000, "To continue the movement for more sympathetic relationship among people of all religions in the improvement of public morals, the furtherance of social justice and the very best in citizenship," there was not a dissenting voice raised among the three hundred Knights assembled.

Federation of Catholic Societies

Nor was this spirit of common co-operation by any means confined to the Knights of Columbus assembly of last year. The Federation of Catholic Societies took occasion to emphasize the part of its constitution that insists upon social and civic work in behalf of all citizens. All three American Cardinals, and many Archbishops and Bishops, addressing the Federation, touched on the necessity and the duty of citizens uniting for the public good, all going to point the force and effectiveness of a common purpose through a common means to attain a common end.

Conference of Catholic Charities

The Conference of Catholic Charities held at Washington last year, should also be mentioned here. The deliberations of that body were an inspiration to the very best in citizenship. The distress of the unemployed, the hard fortune of the handicapped, the needs of the indigent, the sufferings of the poor, and the relief and assistance which society as a whole and organizations as such, as well as individuals, should render to these citizens who have a claim upon our common bounty that cannot in justice or in charity be denied, were all treated in a careful, thorough and scientific manner. The co-operation of all charitable and relief associations was vigorously urged, individual and state action were equally endorsed, private and group initiative were both recommended, while all declared that no color, creed or condition could affect the mutual and reciprocal

obligations that are common to all in respect to the needs, moral, social and physical, of our fellowmen in society.

Knowledge Dispels Prejudice

We feel warranted in reporting these matters at this length because in the knowledge of them a great deal is accomplished toward bringing about a better understanding of the position and belief of Catholics generally in respect to matters of common interest to all citizens of the country. And in reaching this better understanding most of the prejudices which have in the past divided the American people into unnecessary and unnatural groups, will disappear, and the greatness of America, emblematic of the industry of transplanted peoples, through the medium of more sympathetic relations, will be established upon the ever-enduring foundations of justice, charity and peace.

A Plan for Peace

For a specific method of composing the prejudices aroused in a community, or to prevent their being aroused, we recommend the plan suggested in the following story of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred organized in the city of Buffalo when bigotry there was rampant:

(From the Columbiad, February, 1916)

Citizens One Hundred Committee

About the time the Commission began looking into conditions over the country, The Rev. L. O. Williams, Universalist Pastor of the Church of Messiah, Buffalo, N. Y., in a sermon on religious prejudice, suggested that a committee of Catholics and Protestants get together and discuss their differences with a view of bringing about a better understanding and more sympathetic relations. A Committee of 100 was selected, 50 by Protestants and 50 by Catholics. An executive committee of ten was appointed, five of each, which formulated plans and a list of grievances.

Grievances Pro. and Con.

It appeared that many anti-Catholic charges had been the subject of lectures, literature and discussion among the Protestants. The questions of Church and State, Papal allegiance, parochial schools, civic co-operation, political activity, clerical domination, and various others were brought up. Of course, we had our grievances, which were not a few.

Manifesto

The Committee met frequently and each time spent hours in going over the charges and the evidence adduced, taking them up one by one and thrashing them out until a final and full understanding was reached. The following, somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, was published:

"An Appeal to the People"

"We, the undersigned citizens of Buffalo, desiring to remove all religious intolerance from our city, believe the task of overcoming such a spirit can be undertaken only 'with malice toward none and charity for all.'

"We must constantly keep in mind that our National Constitution provides that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States,' and that 'Congress shall make no law regarding the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' And again we should remember that our own State Constitution insures that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind.'

"Moreover, our people of various religious beliefs wish to live together as friends and neighbors, to the end that in business, civic and social life, we may associate in peace and harmony, and banish from our midst the un-American spirit of intolerance.

"We appeal, therefore, to our fellow citizens, irrespective of creed:

"FIRST—To deplore and discourage the printing, circulation and reading of all publications containing any misrepresentation or villification of another's religion.

"SECOND—To deplore and condemn all secret and public meetings or utterances calculated to foment religious antagonism.

"THIRD—To condemn as un-American and unjust the application of any religious test to a candidate for public

office and any business or social boycott on account of religious belief.

"FOURTH—To urge upon all the importance of giving public and emphatic utterance to the need of religious tolerance and the cultivation of good will among our people.

"In presenting this appeal to the public we regret any and all causes that led up to the present conditions and we express our hope that out of the experience of the past we may learn wisdom for the future. We urge our fellow citizens in carrying out this appeal to exert energy in fostering among us a spirit of loyalty and devotion to our ctiy's welfare."

Priests and Ministers Sign

This appeal was signed by fifteen Protestant ministers, fifteen Catholic priests, fifty Catholic and fifty non-Catholic laymen, and it met with enthusiastic approval from the general public. As typical of the uniform appreciation expressed by the good citizens of Buffalo, the following from an editorial in one of the leading papers is quoted:

"Probably never before in any large American community has any such significant, noble, patriotic, meaningful appeal been made as that published this morning and signed by an array of names so impressive as to command the respect and the admiration of every sober-minded, intelligent man and woman in Buffalo.

"This appeal means a new Buffalo. It may not be a shot that will be heard around the world. But it is a revelation of a spirit that may make a wonderful change throughout the United States."

Among other plans for the future the following items of our program were agreed upon:

"FIRST—Make the Committee the clearing house of all complaints and grievances that may come up between Catholics and Protestants.

"SECOND—A sub-committee to investigate and report on conditions affecting the peace and harmony of the community.

"THIRD—Have Catholic speakers address Protestant meetings and Protestant speakers address Catholic clubs and societies in a similar way."

The Citizens' Committee of One Hundred promises to be a permanent social service body in the city of Buffalo which can be counted upon to stand united in the furtherance of every right movement for the betterment of the community.

Distrust Abandoned

We have put aside suspicion and distrust, which is the first great step in any "get together" movement. We are enthusiastic over what has been accomplished and very hopeful of the future, and it would seem that work along similar lines would be productive of good in every city in the country.

There are numbers of disinterested, forward people in every community who will join in this work and make it bear fruit.

And it didn't cost us fifty cents.

A State Plan

For composing the excited prejudices of a State, the best plan yet suggested to us is embodied in the following story of the work of the Georgia Laymen's Association:

(From the Columbiad, July, 1917)

Convent Inspection

When the General Assembly of Georgia, in 1916, passed the Veasey Convent Inspection Bill, it was plain to all that anti-Catholic sentiment in that State was hopelessly intolerant. Having been so obtrusively grafted on the body politic by this bit of legislative bigotry, some plan of action that would conteract its vicious tendency before the few Catholics in Georgia were deprived of the common rights of citizens, was imperatively necessary.

Constitutional Guarantees

It was the animus back of the Veasey enactment that was serious. There are only about 15,000 Catholics in Georgia, among nearly 3,000,000 souls. That this small minority of inoffensive citizens could be so hated by the great majority that a reign of persecution against them would even be started, was very serious. It breached the American guaranty of freedom of worship, and where that is done all free institutions are in danger.

Rights of Small Minorities

One constitutional right is no more secure than others and certainly none is more important than the right of conscience. It is truly alarming, therefore, when the judgment of the body politic of a Commonwealth as expressed in its legislative assembly, is that a minority, because small, has no religious rights that the majority is bound to respect.

Fatal to All Persons

And this not to Catholics only, but to all who are jealous of the liberties and the rights of citizens, for unless they are straw men that bend to the way of the wind, they surely will themselves, some time on some question, be on the minority side, then "pop goes the weazel!" for them if the rights of small minorities are not secured.

Catholic Laymen's Association

So reasoned the Catholic laymen of Georgia, and on the basis of this reasoning they prepared to appeal to their fellow Georgians for the establishment of more friendly relations among all citizens irrespective of creed. Accordingly, late in 1916, at a called convention of laymen meeting at Macon and representing the Catholic societies and parishes of the State, the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia was formed.

$7,500 for the Work

A call for seventy-five hundred dollars (approximately fifty cents per capita for every Catholic soul in Georgia) with which to carry on the work was issued, and most of this sum was quickly raised—eloquent testimony both of the devotion of Georgian Catholics to their cause and their confidence in the fairminded dispositions of their neighbors, to whom they proposed to appeal for consideration, sympathy and justice.

Get-acquainted Campaign

The purpose of this fund was to carry on a get-acquainted campaign, by making available to every man in Georgia, through the distribution of pamphlets, the publication of articles, news and correspondence, the true teaching and position of the Church and the general practices of her children in regard to all public questions and the common things of life in society.

Broad, Sympathetic Spirit

The announcement setting out this purpose was so plain in terms, so broad and sympathetic in spirit that most of the two hundred odd papers of the State, dailies as well as weeklies, gave it prominent place, all without charge, and not a few, in editorials of cordial approval, wished a work of such good purpose Godspeed. A writing that could win favor so uniform, although emanating from a minority all but condemned, seems worth reproducing here:

"The aim of our organization is to bring about more friendly relations between all the people of Georgia, irrespective of religious convictions. We have no other aim. We are not seeking converts to Catholicity. We are not playing politics. We are not out for reforming or opposing or fighting anybody. We have no axe to grind and no scores to pay. We have no new laws to propose and no new principles to teach. We have absolutely no interest that is not common to all good citizens.

"Everything we have on earth is in Georgia. She has given us as her citizens, in common with our fellow citizens, all that we have; and she promises us all that we hope for. Our fellow citizens are all the neighbors we have. They are all the friends we have. Our lives are linked inseparably together; we worked together when Georgia was young; fought together when she was in danger; stood side by side to secure her liberties. There is not a county in the State where we have not built together and done business together.

"Today, in every section of the State, in every city and township, in almost every village we live together as neighbors; tomorrow as today and for generations to come we must live together as neighbors; shall it not be, also as friends?

"We stand for friendship. Opposing all manner of discord, condemning every form of ill-will, frowning on religious prejudices as a cause of internal dissension, we stand for that sympathy and unity, for that friendship among citizens which the common history, the common interest, the common destiny of all the people of Georgia make imperative in the fulfilment of their hopes and aims.

"These are times when all men are divided into two camps, the fair-minded and the foolish; we are ready to stand up

and be counted. We ask our fellow citizens to find out about us; but do it from first hand sources. We will answer any questions kindly, give out any information cheerfully, state our principles and our beliefs over and over again for all who wish to know them.

"We invite the cooperation, the confidence, the good will and the understanding sympathy of all our fellow citizens. We offer these dispositions to our fellow citizens.

"We reach out our hands as Georgia's true men, for a friendly, trusting, helpful relationship among all her worthy sons."

The "Veaseyites"

It was not to be expected, of course, that those editors who had been most active in the anti-Catholic campaign, and who had a pecuniary or political interest in seeing the persecution of the Catholic minority prolonged so as to keep themselves in pocket or in the public eye, would hail this announcement with gladness. Its pure Christian temper, its broad American principle, its common aim, its human appeal, all warned the narrow, selfish, designing archbigots, leaders of dissension and strife in communities and among friends, that their days of unexposed revel in scandal and invention had come to and end.

Checking the Errors of Writers

There were some half dozen of these to question the Laymen's purpose and oppose their aim. One, who is notorious for his intellectual dishonesty, was ignored, as such a one must be by selfrespecting men. To each of the others, however, who on the whole perhaps are more sinned against than sinning, the Manager of the Central Bureau, who is Mr. J. J. Farrel, Augusta, Ga., addressed a personal letter, respectfully calling attention to some error regarding history or the Church which they assigned as a reason why Catholics should not be treated like other people.

Protestants "Made" America

A typical case is that of a paper which in making an argument as to why Catholics should have no part in civic life of America, said that "Protestantism made this country," "THIS IS A PROTESTANT COUNTRY," etc.

Mr. Farrell wrote: "When you say that Protestantism made this country you do not intend to state a fact, but a fancy, for as a matter of fact, of course, God made this country. When you say "This is a Protestant country,' as you do say with all a printer's emphasis, you have no thought of it being a fact, I am sure, as you know that fewer than 20 per cent. of all our people profess any Protestant belief, while in none of the 48 States is Protestantism in any form prescribed as a mode of belief or worship. But in forming opinions you ought to know the facts."

Catholics in the Making of America—Cause of Arnold's Treason

"You ought to know that the founder of the American Navy was a Catholic, that the first General of the Cavalry was a Catholic, that the only Indians who fought with Washington were Catholics, that the money which saved him and his army at Valley Forge was from Catholics, that when Cornwallis surrendered, which all agree made the success of the Revolution secure, more than half the Army that opposed him was Catholic; that Catholic Poland, Catholic France, Catholic Spain furnished men, money, munitions and other help to our country and the Catholic States of Germany were the only German States where England couldn't hire troops, like the Hessians, to fight us.

"You ought to remember, sir, and I hope you can remember without misgivings, that the beginning of the breach between Washington and Arnold which finally led to the First Treason, was because Arnold objected to Washington's surrounding himself with Catholic generals and aides. No wonder Washington said he hoped his countrymen would not forget 'the patriotic part of Catholics in the Revolution or the assistance which they received from a nation in which the Catholic Faith is professed,' which, sad to say, you do forget when you imagine that 'Protestantism made this Country.'"

Advertising

In addition to correcting any matter detrimental to Catholics that appeared in the papers throughout the State, a paid advertisement proposing to answer any question touching Catholics and their relations and duties as citizens, was run in a number of papers, the plan being to run it in all the papers of the State,

a group of a dozen or so carrying it for three months, and then another group for three months until the whole State is covered. As a result of this advertisement Manager Farrell was overwhelmed with letters and inquiries.

"Faith of Our Fathers"

Some inquiries that come in are in blanket form: "Send me the teaching, belief and practices of Roman Catholics as you have advertised." This, of course, was somewhat staggering. Such letters were answered by sending a copy of the "Faith of Our Fathers," and requesting that if the inquirer had any particular question in mind, it be made more specific.

Mooted Matters of History

Others sent in specific questions:

"What about the Donation of Ireland?"

"Who is to blame for the Inquisition?"

"Tell me about the Barons and Magna Charta?"

"What about the gun powder plot?"

"What about St. Bartholomew's massacre?"

Similar historical questions are quite numerous. Mr. Farrell has been good enough to let us have a copy of his answers to these which we shall be glad to furnish upon request.

Coming in Bunches

The following is a group of questions contained in one letter to Mr. Farrell:

"Do you believe in the separation of Church and State?"

"What is your belief on the State marriage law?"

"Give the names of the Roman Catholics who helped to write the American Constitution, and the State Constitution of Georgia.

"Do Catholics patronize the State Public Schools of Georgia? If not, why?"

"Have you Protestant teachers in your parochial school?

"If Catholics want to live in peace with Protestants why do they maintain armed secret societies when no other church does?"

The "Ne Temere"

Nearly all inquiries touched the subject of marriage. They usually ask: "Do you endorse the Ne Temere decree?" When informed that this decree expressly exempts Protestants, they generally came back with something like this:

"I am satisfied now that the Catholic Church does not interfere with marriages of Protestant or stigmatize them as invalid, as I formerly believed, where both parties to the marriage are Protestant; but why do you require that the ceremony be performed by a priest where one is a Protestant and the other a Catholic?" And finally somewhat in this wise: "Non-Catholics believe that your Church becomes more insistent in its demands and its efforts to force the decrees of the Vatican in proportion as it grows in numerical strength: if it is not true, please state why a Ne Temere decree was not ordered enforced in this country at an earlier period?" In the end, of course, Mr. Farrell satisfies his correspondent that Catholics have altogether different ideas from what he has been led to believe, and with this understanding comes a better feeling all around.

A Plea for Peace

In addition to answering questions similar to the above, of which Manager Farrell received an average of some 10 or 12 each day, a number of pamphlets prepared under his direction were sent out to a carefully built up mailing list of about 25,000. The first of these, "A Plea for Peace," elaborates this thought, suggestive of the reason and the purpose, as well as the right, of the Laymen's Association:

Catholics and Protestants

"Catholics and Protestants together settled America; together, they laid the forests, drained the swamps and plowed the land. They fought together in the battles of the Revolution. They stood side by side in the conventions and congresses that secured the liberties of the people. Why should they now suffer self-seeking men to betray them into hatred for one another?

"The American Constitution and the Constitution of each State guarantee liberty of belief and worship. Catholics and Protestants in joint assembly wrote these guarantees. Why now listen to the designing men who try to violate them?

Made America "Today in every section of the country, in every city and town, in almost every hamlet, Catholics and Protestants are living together as neighbors. Why permit this relation to be disturbed by uncharitable, un-Christian appeals to prejudice, passion and ill-feeling?

"Tomorrow, as today, and for generations to come, Catholics and Protestants must live together as neighbors.

"Shall it not be as friends?"

Catholics in Georgia Another pamphlet, "Catholics in Georgia," was distributed throughout the State. The object of this pamphlet is set forth in the following excerpted paragraphs:

"We must make common cause with each other; must cease to hate each other; must come together with a single purpose to make our laws, our institutions and our lives fulfill the splendid promise of our State."

The Stewardship of Citizens "We, who write these lines, are Catholics. We are less than one to a hundred of you who read. Our lives, our liberties, our property, our reputation are in your trust and keeping. But in our joint keeping, men of Georgia, are the lives, liberties, property and reputation of all the people."

"Georgia's women and children, her untutored, unfortunate and poor, look to us for protection and help. Business and profession, employment and trade, look to us for justice and fair play. Every legitimate activity of her people looks to us for encouragement."

"And Georgia looks to us to do our duty."

Catholic Belief Another pamphlet sent out contained striking excerpts from the Lenten Pastoral of Bishop Keiley, which in clear, forcible and authoritive terms gave the teaching and position of the Church on important questions like Catholic Allegiance, Marriage Laws, Noninterference in Politics, Civil Rights and Duties.

Catholics and the Confederacy Among other pamphlets distributed were: "Catholics and the Confederacy," a compilation of historical data touching the part played by Catholics in the struggle of the Southern Confederacy, with Protestant views and opinions condemning the revival of religious prejudice and hatred:

"Catholics in America" "Catholics in America," being a splendid address by an esteemed Confederate Veteran made in protest against the action of a few misguided Veterans who were influenced by anti-Catholic sentiment to object to Bishop Keiley of Savannah, delivering the oration at the Confederate Memorial, notwithstanding Bishop Keiley is himself a Confederate veteran.

"Our Neighbor's Honor" "Our Neighbors Honor," containing excerpts from the advanced Catechism, showing the salutary, wholesome, peace-compelling teaching of the Catholic Church, in respect to the regard in which we must hold the reputation of our fellowmen.

Wonders at Fears of Fellow Protestants The following from a non-Catholic lawyer of central Georgia is given to us by Mr. Farrell as typical of many letters coming to him and which go to show something of the results achieved.

"Recently I have been receiving some literature from you, in sending out which you seem to wish to explain that the Catholic Church does not aim to undermine the government or take control of same in this country.

"I wish to state that I am not in sympathy with any move to discredit the Catholic Church; I believe that it is a great body of Christian men and women. Our people are too intelligent to allow any church to take control of the government, even if any church were so inclined, which none is, and I wonder that intelligent men anywhere fear such a consummation; if any Catholic Priest should teach such foolishness I should laugh at him rather than fear or abuse him. I should vote for a capable Catholic for office as quickly as I would for a Protestant."

Never Heard the Catholic Side

Here are a few other types:

"This is to acknowledge receipt of the book a day or two ago, "The Faith of Our Fathers," by Cardinal Gibbons. I have only had time so far to read a little here and there, but I am very much impressed with the book and want to give it a careful reading, after which I will let you hear further from me.

"I am free to confress that being brought up from childhood in an adverse atmosphere, my mind has been naturally biased, and not having access to anything on the Catholic side I have never known whether those who attack your Church had sufficient grounds. I shall read the book sent with a greal deal of interest.

"Thanking you for the courtesy, I beg to remain."

The Church a Support of the Government

"I have traveled in Catholic countries having every sort of government, and have always found that the influence of the Church is conservative and a strong support to the government whether it be Monarchy or Republic.

"It has always seemed to me that it was a weakness of human nature for people to show fanaticism and prejudice when considering religious matters if they had even a moderate amount of intelligence and good judgment when discussing other things."

Sees Catholics Were Slandered

"I am reading your letters with much interest and can see that the Catholics have been grossly misrepresented and slandered. I will continue to study this question of Catholicism and will be glad to write you for further information at any time I am in need of same."

Having seen many hundreds of letters, exhibiting the same broad-minded spirit as the above, all the result of the work of the Georgia Laymen, we heartily recommend their program with the appropriate adaptation as the very best means of meeting local conditions in the different States.

Conclusion

Propaganda—Letters—Publicity

In bringing this final account of the Commission's work to a conclusion, we pass over the detail of our labors; how we have put into the hands of millions a propaganda of truth and good will; how we have written to thousands a kindly personal letter bespeaking justice and fair play and informing them in Catholic teaching on matters that excite prejudice; how we have secured fair consideration from the Associated Press, generous approval from the secular press, moderation of expression from the religious press, so that these principal channels leading to the public mind are now largely open to truth and closed to falsehood and scandal.

Results Unmeasurable

Results from such things are unmeasurable; but if doing this work be worth while, and if stimulating our members and Catholics generally to greater interest and activity in putting before the public in their proper light the truth and beauty of Catholic teaching, makes it all the greater, then the labors of the Commission have not been spent in vain.

Best to be Achieved

But, after all, even if the aim of the Commission be accomplished in the fullest degree, and lastingly, so that these bigoted movements will never again start up, it means only that a very serious obstacle to the achievement of the best in America has been removed. It still remains for America to achieve the best, and in that we must all do not our bit but our best.

Positive Thought and Action

We are not concerned alone with the evil of ideas, but also with the evil from which the ideas spring; nor may we let our energies lag because we have succeeded in putting down a pernicious movement, but we must try to turn to advantage the spirit of disquietude that made the movement; for criticism that is not connected with sound constructive ideas is more or less barren and wasteful, and positive thought

should accompany, and positive action follow, any negativeness of a right kind.

Kindness and Dignity Indispensable

The two notes of positiveness that we have all along tried to identify with our work are kindness and dignity, which are indispensable prerequisites to mutual and helpful understanding among men; for kindness is the human basis of all charity; and dignity the rational mark of all truth, and without somewhat of these qualities brought to bear, no dealing with any matter, no discussion of it, no thought on it, can be intelligent or fruitful.

Discussion of Religious Prejudice

One observing the spirit and tone which ordinarily mark the discussion in public and private assemblies of the subject of religious prejudices, can hardly fail to be impressed by the difference in approaching and treating the matter now and two or three years ago. It is now the custom to bring to bear on the discussion the very best that is in us, and that is bound to make for results in the premises; for, not only is the best in ourselves put to use, but the best in our neighbor also, being stimulated by the contact, is drawn into service.

To Insure Lasting Success

In a more or less definite but very practical sense, therefore, kindness of spirit and dignity of tone together constitute a great constructive force in society and to identify these notes with whatever work our Order or our people has in hand, is to insure to it a noble and lasting success.

Service to the World —"Thumbs Down" for Slackers

These observations, commonplace in themselves, seem appropriate at this time on account of the moving events through which we are living, when every hour there comes to us an opportunity for service of some kind, not to our Catholic people especially, but to the great common people of our country, and through them to the disheartened peoples of the world. We must not be found wanting in these eventful times. God helping, we shall not be. The weak and timid of heart, the backward, the selfish, the hardened, the indifferent, the jealous, the narrow-minded, the

sordid, the greedy, will be answered "Thumbs Down" when they appeal for judgment to the common conscience of mankind.

"Visors Up" for Knights

"Knights wear their visors up today." So far as "danger" is concerned, "anything that depends upon human judgment," a great Catholic Cardinal reminds us, "is liable; but indifference or afraidness, in these times, is worse than danger." We must all stand up and be counted. Under God, Our Country

Two Aims Ahead

Two aims lie ahead; two in one; make the world "safe for democracy"; and make democracy pure. The one we shall achieve in the war, the other in the peace that follows; and yet, both will be achieved together and by the same token.

Two Works Before

Two works lie before: For the people of the Republic of the United States in active co-operation "to create," in the words of President Wilson, "a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other, respect each other, sympathize with each other, we are not true Americans." And for the peoples of all the republics in America, in mutual esteem, by mutual benefactions, through a common and balanced policy of Pan-Americanism to cultivate and cheerish the most cordial relations among themselves.

The Church a Lever

In one case the Catholic Church is situated like a fulcrum, in the other like a lever, whose use in its natural place makes easy an otherwise hard, if not impossible, labor. As a matter of expediency, therefore, not to mention the right of the thing, it is the part of wisdom, it seems the only patriotic thing to do, for us all, regardless of language, blood or creed, to denounce and use every lawful means to prevent any abuse, as well as any wrong use of the character, teaching, or position of Catholics.

For a Greater America—a More Contented World

And this not only as affecting our fellow citizens, but as affecting citizens in every country, though especially our Central and South American neighbors, with whom, let us hope, having come to know at home more of the religious beliefs, which they in common hold, and respecting them; and having learned also something of their civilization, which in ways surpasses our own, we shall soon begin to establish such friendly and mutually advantageous, diplomatic, trade and social relations, as will make for a greater America and for a more enlightened and more contented world.

The Place of Order in the Nation

The Order of the Knights of Columbus, representative of the spirit and aim of the Catholic people of America, cleric and lay, has come to be recognized as a great civic and social influence working for the common welfare and helping to attain the very best in the common life of the nation. There is no looking back; our place is made; we must occupy it keenly alive to the duties and responsibilities involved, cultivating kindness without compromise, preserving dignity without pride, rendering service without favor or advantage.

APPENDICES

Commission Created

(Supreme Council Record)

At the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, Knights of Columbus, held in St. Paul, Minnesota, August, 1915, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Board of Directors is authorized to expend a sum not exceeding Fifty Thousand Dollars, to study the causes, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for the religious prejudice that has been manifested through press and rostrum in a malicious and scurrilous campaign that is hostile to the spirit of American freedom and liberty and contrary to God's Law of 'Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself,' and the Supreme Knight is authorized to appoint a Commission to be known as the Commission on Religious Prejudices, consisting of five members of the Order, to conduct such investigation under the direction of the Board of Directors.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Supreme Knight appointed the following members of the Commission:

Col. P. H. Callahan, Louisville, Ky., Chairman.
Hon. Jos. C. Pelletier, Boston Mass.
Hon. Jos. Scott, Los Angeles, Cal.
Hon. Thos. A. Lawler, Lansing, Mich.
Mr. A. G. Bagley, Vancouver, B. C.

Policy Outlined by Chairman

(New York Sun, Jan. 24, 1916.)

"We heartily welcome encouragement from those of other faiths. We would not suppress free speech. We would not disarm any honest criticism of ourselves or of our faith. But with stern purpose, we condemn the unlicensed propaganda

which libels a whole people and leaves them without redress in courts of justice."

"It would be folly to enter on this work without clean hands. We must be careful not only to refrain from any act or word that would belie our claim to Christian charity, but also to search our hearts for traces of any feelings or instincts that are not compatible with charity."

"We cannot find fault with the general run of non-Catholic papers for carrying prejudiced articles about us, if our own papers are conducted in the same manner and while this is not generally the case, some instances are sadly to the contrary."

Typical Paragraphs From Letters of the Chairman to Catholics and Non-Catholics

"The fundamental governing our Commission is that 'Tolerance begets tolerance,' whereas 'Intolerance begets only intolerance.' We have members who seem to think there is no prejudice on our part, but this is not altogether correct. We must cultivate the gift, as the Scot puts it, 'to sae oursels as ithers sae us.'"

"Religious prejudice is due to our not understanding one another and we are writing you direct with the hope of ascertaining your troubles, for in the words of Washington Gladden, 'We Catholics and Protestants are going to live together in this country and we might as well learn to live together in peace.'"

"It is very gratifying to observe that you received the most whole-hearted assistance from a Methodist editor of one of your daily papers. It is in this direction that we expect to accomplish the most good, by conducting such a campaign as will appeal to all liberal and fairminded people, for it is my idea that the extremists, which includes those who read seriously such publications as 'The Menace,' can hardly be reached just at the present time by any reasoning process."

Constitutionally, this is a free country and the American people are imbued to the core with the spirit of fair play, but occasionally a few self-seeking hypocrites set out to stir up enmity among neighbors and friends who otherwise would

continue to enjoy their free rights in peace and comfort. We hope that you will have no objections to our giving your fairminded expression publicity, because it illustrates the only right attitude and the only proper policy for American newspapers to adopt and to follow."

The Paramount Object

(From The Columbiad, May, 1915.)

"Early during the Civil War, President Lincoln wrote to Horace Greeley that his paramount object was to save the Union, and if he could accomplish this object without freeing a single slave he would do it, or if he could accomplish it by freeing all the slaves he would do that, 'But the paramount object is to save the Union.'

"The paramount object of the Commission on Religious Prejudices is also, to save a union, the union of friendship and peace long existing among American citizens, but which certain unscrupulous persons seem bent on destroying by stirring up religious passion and strife among the people.

"We are trying to prevent a recurrence of the excitement and strife that so shamefully marks the '30's, the '50's and the '90's of the last century and to do this we are ready to waive non-essentials where necessary. Honor, truth and right-thinking are to be kept foremost, of course, for peace without honor is a delusion and friendship without truth a sham; but an Apostle is our authority for saying: 'All things are right, but not all things are expedient.'

"Between two extremes that would launch us into political affairs or plunge us into religious controversy, there is a middle ground,—that of the plain citizen, who does not imagine that he is called upon to run the government or to convert the people, but whose paramount object as a citizen is to live in peace among his neighbors who mutually observe and mutually enjoy the common rights of citizens.

"We can only enjoy our rights when others are permitted to enjoy theirs in perfect security; but they cannot enjoy theirs while they infringe upon our own. Thus, religious prejudice, which brings unhappiness and ill-feeling into a community and challenges one class or another, is a matter for the whole people to strive to conquer and which a part of the people not working in harmony with the whole

of the people not working in harmony with the whole will only aggravate and excite; and thus, in broad truth, the paramount object of the Commission is seen to be one which all sincere people can, and, indeed, knowing it, must strive to attain.

"Peace with honor and friendship in truth make for contentment, the end of civil government, of civil laws and all social endeavor."

Analysis of Religious Prejudices

(From the Columbiad, April, 1915)

"As a result of its investigations the Commission has reached the conclusion that the bigoted attacks of periodic recurrence come largely from three classes.

"Most pernicious of these classes is that which, though pretending to high purposes, is moved solely by sordid and mercenary considerations. This class numbers but a few, which is fortunate, for did it comprise a large number the task of the Commission would seem hopeless, because members of this class cannot be reached by reason or persuasion.

"The second class though larger, is less dangerous, because it openly avows its purpose. It would destroy all religion and all existing government; but it takes no pains to hide its object and none is blind to its aims but they who will not see. This class is made up of extremists and malcontents who are ready to boost any movement that tends to social disintegration. Discontent and strife of every kind are welcome to them; 'divide, then conquer,' is their motto; hence, they cordially join in with the class that for notoriety and gain is striving to stir up religious prejudice and excitement.

"These two classes direct their appeals to a third and exceedingly numerous class,—those who do not understand the meaning of religious liberty or who do not know the teaching of Catholicity as it affects society. This third class is honestly and sincerely prejudiced against the Church, not hatefully or bitterly, but as one normally is prejudiced against anything when actually educated against it from infancy, with a calm, fixed prejudice; which, however, does not exclude toleration. Left alone, this class would not harm Catholics, socially, commercially or politically.

"It is with this large class whose members are sincere and honest that we must treat. With this class we hold many things in common,—a Christian heritage, free citizenship, love of country, respect for law, desire for peace,—which can be secured, not by lies and false pretenses, or scandalous writing and shameless speech, but by honesty and fair dealing alone. The sum of these things forms a common basis upon which we can and, as sensible men, must stand, to preserve harmonious relations among ourselves and prevent our children from growing up with bitterness and hatred for each other in their hearts."

Religious Prejudices

(From the K. of C. Year Book)

"The individual, personal feeling of prejudice is more or less common to all men, and in a way bound up in human nature; in this aspect it appears to be a permanent and rather constant factor in life, one to be dealt with mainly, if not exclusively, through divinely appointed persons and instrumentalities.

"When this individual feeling in one person clashes or mingles with others, however, there appears a collective or social sentiment, that is of periodical growth and development, one that will yield, like any other inconstant force, to intelligent and systematic pressure brought to bear on it.

"It was this social sentiment as distinguished from the individual feeling that prompted the creation of the Religious Prejudices Commission by the Knights of Columbus. For of all prejudices, those touching religious matters are deepest rooted and when they are aroused, organized, directed toward a specific object, carried into politics and business, into industrial and educational activities, into all the affairs of society, they ferment, and in the effervescence the dregs of society work to the surface, proving the very worst detriment to the peace and progress of communities, of the whole country perhaps.

"When this ferment boils over, as in 'Anti-Masonic,' 'Know-Knothing' and 'A. P. A.' times, all the bitterest passions of men in society are turned loose and only a great common danger or a great common sorrow will bring them back to a realization of their common brotherhood.

Retrospect

(From the Commission's Second Report)

"We are now in the midst of the fifth of these periodic waves arising in the United States. The first came soon after the formation of the Republic and, nothwithstanding our constitutional guaranty of religious liberty, culminated in laws against Catholics . . .

"The second wave came in the wake of the Anti-Masonic movement growing out of the 'Morgan affair.' It resulted in the destruction of churches, schools, convents and residences of priests; in some cities there were frequent murders and assassinations, rioters actually pitched an engagement in a few places . . . The Know-Nothing movement arose in the '50's. The issue was clearly outlined, the challenge boldly flung out,—America for Americans,' 'No Irish Immigrants,' 'No Romanists in Office,' 'Down with the Catholics,' 'To hell with the Pope,' . . . The A. P. A. movement began in the '90's. The old methods, —secret organization, political assassination, boycott, villification, slander, scandalmonging,—were revived.

"The present movement began to develop in 1908, the centenary of the erection of the diocese of Baltimore into a Metropolitan See. In recognition of the growth of Catholicity in this country during the century, North America was advanced by the Pope from the status of a Mission Country to that of a Province, and transferred from the jurisdiction of the Propaganda to that of the Holy See.

"In November, 1908, the first American Catholic Missionary Congress met at Chicago, and there was assembled the largest body of prelates, priests and laymen that ever was brought together in the New World. Before this meeting had adjounrned, the New York Synod of a Protestant denomination addressed an open and labored letter to the President of the United States, which in brief asserted that the Catholic Church is a menace to American institutions.' On the folowing day, the Ministerial Union of another denomination in Philadelphia adopted resolutions embodying the same sentiment.

"In the next few years practically every Assembly, Association, Union, League and Conference of Protestant Ministers, throughout the Nation, passed similar resolutions. Next, the Catholic Eucharistic Congress of the World met in Montreal, and another precedent in Catholic assemblies was made. Then the second Missionary Congress met. In the meantime Cardinal Gibbons celebrated his Jubilee, two more Cardinals were created for America, and more resolutions were passed by apprehensive Protestants.

"In all this the shrewd professional agitator saw a great harvest field. A well financed, capably-edited Anti-Catholic paper was begun, by an old-timer at this game. A cleverly planned secret society was formed, under paid patronage. When the pre-election campaign of 1912 opened, the Anti-Catholics had a well organized movement under way; two score of professional propagandists of the 'ex-priest' and 'ex-nun' type were sent into the field; more secret societies were formed; more papers were started; headquarters were opened in larger cities; tons of literature were distributed; statistics were gathered of Catholics in office, of priests and parishes and Catholic institutions; their crimes, their sins, their blunders, for a quarter century past, were systematically exposed with exaggerations and embellishment; and where no real offense could be found, many were invented to serve the occasion.

"Such are the antecedents and the character of the movement that brought forth this Commission with its purpose if possible to prevent the peace of our country from being destroyed by these professional hate breeders, who not only embitter our lives but poison the minds of our children and thus give assurance that in the next generation, with a few energetic opportunities to incite it by sensational inventions, another wave will rise to destroy peaceful relations among neighbors and friends.

"Cannot the American people break this endless chain? Must they continue to hate each other and to teach their children to hate each other on account of religious differences?

"We submit our work in answer."

The Spirit of Peace

(From The Columbiad, July, 1915

"It is error to think that only Catholics are interested in putting an end to the bigoted attacks being made on them. It appeals to every fair-minded man in America in touch with the facts, as a part of his duty as a citizen, to do his part in stemming this tide of bigotry before

it has come to the point where inflamed propagandists can turn eager, curious crowds into wild-eyed mobs bent upon pulling down convents, burning churches or murdering priests —all in the name of liberty and for the glory of the Christian religion and American civilization.

"It is error also, to think that bigoted movements are in the interest of Protestant religions and that in consequence it behooves Protestants to countenance, if not support, them. They are hurtful to all religion because they present to the unbeliever the sad spectacle of a bitter, hateful, strife being waged among men who in common affect to believe in the all-embracing charity of Jesus Christ. They who lend a hand in a campaign calculated to stir up enmity and hatred among men of different religious convictions cannot by any intendment be followers of Him who said: 'By this shall all men know that you are My disciples: that you love one another.'

"Discord and strife, suspicion, jealousy and hate, have no proper place in the land of America where all men are equal and all free, and disturbers who work to stir up enmity among the people are in the highest degree abnoxious here and sober-minded Christians will shun such men as clean men shun a leper.

"Let us have peace then! Let us by common consent root out from our midst the pernicious factors that most make for ill-feeling and strife among men, the suspicions, jealousies, enmities and hates born of religious prejudice excited and overwrought. Let us by common resolve check the impluse to hear bad things said of our fellowman, keep away from the presence of those who make it their business to say such things and if then they are thrust upon us, let us call for at least the forms of justice,—the time, the place, the person, and a lawful oath for earnest.

"And finally, let us invoke the spirit of peace that divides the Old Law from the New, that uplifts to the world the sign of man's redemption and of men's equality and calls down upon the world the benefits and blessings so dearly bought on Calvary,—the spirit of Him Who, living and dying, enjoined upon all men 'To love one another.'

REFERENCES

For the position of Catholics in regard to several questions touching our common life in society, the following references are given:

"Religion and Politics"—2nd Report pp. 5-12-36.

"Civil Allegiance"—1st Report p. 28; 2nd Report p. 39.

"Public Schools"—1st Report p. 29; 2nd Report pp. 41-45.

"Social Problems"—1st. Report p. 30; 2nd. Report p. 442.

"Catholic Press"—1st. Report pp. 18-30; 2nd. Report pp. 36-43.

"The Law of Libel"—1st. Report p. 23; 2nd Report p. 32.

"False Pretences"—1st. Report p. 26.

"History of Fake Oath"—2nd. Report p. 33.

"Sociality"—2nd. Report p. 37.

"Ne Temere"—2nd. Report p. 38.

"The Catholic Citizen"—The Columbiad, August 1915.

"Catholics and Patriotism"—The Columbiad, August 1915.

"Public Opinion"—The Columbiad, June 1915.

"Free Press and Free Speech"—1st. Report p. 21; 2nd. Report p. 27.

The following references will be helpful to one desireous of a more comprehensive survey of our work:

"Correspondence"—1st. Report pp. 11 to 16; 2nd. Report 10 to 12.

"Anti-Catholic Papers"—1st. Report p. 19; 2nd. Report p. 27.

"Anti-Catholic Societies"—1st. Report p. 22; 2nd Report p. 25.

"Anti-Catholic Speakers"—2nd. Report p. 28.

"Railroads and Workshops"—2nd. Report p. 30.

"Propaganda"—1st. Report p. 6; 2nd. Report p. 6.

The following printed pamphlets have been prepared and distributed in connection with our work:

"A Message to all Patriotic Citizens."

"Knights of Columbus vs. Criminal Libel."

"Catholic Patriotism and Public Schools."

"The Church and Bible."

"A Protest and a Plea."

"Anti-Paper Panic."

"Catholics in America."

"The First and Last Word."

Answers at length have been made to a great number of mooted historical questions similar to the following:

"What about the Donation of Ireland?"

"The Inquisition."

"The English Barons and Magna Charta."

"The Gun Powder Plot."

"St. Bartholomew's Massacre."

"Condemnation of Gallieo."

These will be furnished on request.

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